

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Were all the proprietors of land only stewards to the public, must not necessity force them to practice all the arts of oppression used by stewards; where the absence or negligence of the proprietor renders them secure against inquiry."—HUME: Essay on Public Credit.

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LETTER III.

TO THE RT. HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM,

I Upon placed and pensioned Members.—II. Upon the burthen of taxation.—III. Upon the means of alleviating that burthen.

SIR;—I.—In my haste to conclude the foregoing letter (see page 865) I omitted one observation, which, upon reading your speech to the Norfolk Freeholders, had occurred to me; to wit; that, while at Norwich, you were maintaining that a man was *more fit* to be a member of parliament on account of his being a placeman, MR. HERBERT was, at Winchester, telling his intended constituents, that he had, since he had offered himself as a member of the county, *given up a place*, which he before held under the crown. This contrast is striking; and, one of its least possible effects must be to shew, that there is, some how, or other, a shocking want of principle, whereby for public men to regulate their conduct, as to this, as well as to almost all other matters. —Before I entirely quit this part of my subject, give me leave to ask you, Sir, a question, to which, I think, the public would like to have an answer from you. I will first state the case, upon which the question is grounded.—We have seen, that the principle laid down in the *Act of Settlement* was, that "no person holding an office or place of profit under the king, or receiving a pension from the crown, should be capable of being a member of the House of Commons." This was the principle laid down in that act of parliament, which took the crown of England from the Stuarts for ever, and gave it to the present reigning family; and, without stopping to state any of the many reasons for wishing that no part of that act had ever been annulled, I will proceed to express my opinion, that, if the changes in the state of the country called for any alteration as to the grounds of excluding men from seats in the House of Commons, the alteration should have been of a kind exactly the contrary of that which has taken place; because, the vast increase in our naval and military establishment, naturally demanded an exclusion of naval and military officers, all of whom held their offi-

ces and emoluments from the mere will of the crown, and all of whom can, at any moment, be deprived of those offices and emoluments, at the sole pleasure of the crown, and that, too, without cause assigned! At the time when the act of settlement was passed, the navy and army were, comparatively, trifling in magnitude; but, now the army alone costs nearly 20 millions a year; and, except the mere subsistence-money of the soldiers, the whole of this sum is handled by, and serves, in one way or another to the profits of, men whose offices are held at the absolute will of the crown. Much the same may be said of the navy; and, how large a portion of the members of the House of Commons consists of naval and military officers no one would believe, until he came to examine the list.—*Contractors*, I shall be told, are excluded, Alas! Sir, how are they excluded? Can the law, as it now stands, prevent a member of parliament from being a contractor in an hour after he has voted the supplies for the year? Can it prevent a member from being a *sleeping* contractor? Does it prevent this? Does it prevent *loan* contractors from sitting in the House? Does it prevent Bank-Directors from sitting there; those Bank-Directors, with whom the minister has so many money bargains to drive during the year? Does it prevent West India or other merchants from sitting there? No; and, what is more, it does not prevent them from assisting to vote, out of the taxes of the nation, loans of money to themselves to aid them in carrying on their speculations, or in preventing the natural and fit consequences of such speculations. Does the law prevent East India creditors, or pretended creditors, from sitting in the House, there to vote (in conjunction with the East India Directors) the money raised in taxes, into the pockets of themselves, in payment of what is due from those Directors and the East India Company? Does the law (and this will lead to the question that I have in view) prevent such men as *Boyd and Benfield* from sitting in the House of Commons? The act of settlement; that act of parliament which settled the Crown of England

upon the present wearers of it, provided, as a means of better securing the liberties of Englishmen, that no member of the House of Commons should be a placeman or a pensioner; and this provision was evidently grounded upon the maxim, that the men most likely to be frugal of the public money were those who put none of it into their own pockets. But, what have we witnessed within these twenty months? We have seen a minister lending the public money *without interest*, that is to say, *giving the public money*, to members of parliament, without the approbation of parliament or of the King, without consulting his colleagues in the cabinet, and without making any minute or leaving any record or trace of the transaction; and, when the deed was, by mere accident, detected, we heard not, in the House of Commons, a single voice to censure him, but, on the contrary, we heard "those holders of the purse-strings," those faithful "guardians of the people's rights and property;" we heard them unanimously join in passing, almost by acclamation, an act, a *law*, to declare that this minister should be, for ever after, held to be perfectly innocent of what it was notorious that he had done! In addition to which, we saw, in a few months afterwards, that same House of Commons (a House that never ought to be forgotten by the injured and insulted people of this country) pass two other laws, one of them to make us pay the debts of that minister; and the other to make us, at our expense, raise a monument to his memory! A list of that House every man should keep nailed up against his chimney piece!—But, my question, Sir, is this: *Would such laws as these ever have been passed by an unplaced and unpensioned House of Commons?* To this question, Sir, I should like to have an answer.—Many, aye, many scores of laws could I mention, passed by that House of Commons, which, I think it is evident, never could have been passed by men independent of the minister and of the crown; but I shall, for the present, at least, content myself with these; or, if I make any addition now, it shall be of the law for *augmenting the pensions of the younger branches of the Royal Family*, while, a few days before, another law had been passed exempting the property *which the King had in the funds* from its share of the tax imposed upon the funded property of his subjects; and, having made this addition, again I ask, Sir, would such laws as these ever have been passed by an unplaced and unpensioned House of Commons?

—A House of Commons, having in

it neither place men nor pensioners; a House, none of the members of which touched the public money, would naturally become the scrupulous managers of that money, because every man of them would feel, that he was managing his own money as well as that of his constituents, and that wherever he could save in the public expenditure, he would be really saving for his neighbours and himself.—Such a House, therefore, would seriously and effectually set about measures for alleviating the burthen of taxation, now approaching to a weight insupportable.—Of the effects of taxation in the way of creating pauperism and misery, from absolute want of necessary food and raiment, I have before spoken; give me leave, Sir, to say a word or two here upon the *vexations* of the taxing system, as imprinted upon my mind by actual experience, in my own concerns, during the last eight or nine months, and as exemplified in the occurrences which I was led to enumerate from reading a paragraph, in the *Courier* news-paper, where the writer, after descanting upon the facility, with which Napoleon had over-run the Continent, breaks out in the following apostrophe to Britain: "Dear and happy land! the last asylum of persecuted liberty; the last, but the safe, retreat from the tyrant's grasp! In thy blessed laws the hand of the unjust magistrate meets with restraint; and by those laws the foot of the domiciliary visitant is arrested! All thy children sleep in security! Thy houses are castles to their inhabitants, however humble! Crimes only are punished by thy righteous laws; and, if innocent of these, those laws insure to every man the free use of his reason, the complete liberty of his person, and the uninterrupted enjoyment of all the property that he possesses whether by descent or from his own earnings." I have not the paper now before me; but, as to the substance, this quotation is not far from being correct. I shall not deny any part of this. I cannot, however, with due submission to the Editor of the *Courier*, help remarking, that Britain has been "the last asylum of persecuted liberty," at any time since the French revolution began; but, with this remark I dismiss the apostrophe, and proceed to the matter of fact exhibited in my nine month's occurrences.—I. A friend made me a present of some fine old rum, which I ordered the waggoner to bring from London to Botley; but, when he came to take it away, there was no "permit" as they call a written paper, without which, it seems, you cannot move

your own liquor from one house to another; and so my rum was obliged to remain for another week, until the waggon came again; for, if I had taken it away without the "permit," the law, I was told, imposed a heavy penalty upon me.—2. In order to save trouble in washing the boards of the floor of a large passage, laid with oak, the maid servant wanted to have the floor covered with painted canvass, which her mistress consented to the more willingly because we had some old canvass, and also some brown paint; but, just as the painting operation was beginning, a carpenter, who was at work just by, came up, and, with a voice expressive of great trepidation, asked the painter if we knew what we were about, informing him (which I found to be the case), that we could not paint the canvass without running the risk of an information, and of a penalty of ten pounds.—3. A beam, in a cellar was decaying very fast for want of air; and, as there was no opening into the cellar except at the door, I ordered a man to make a hole in the wall, in order to let in both light and air; but the man reminded me of the window law, which, by requiring six months notice before I open or close a window, compels me, under a penalty of twenty pounds, to let my beam rot on quietly until next April, and, in the mean while, to do without light below stairs as well as I can, to think myself well off that I can get light above-stairs, and to bless my good fortune that I am not under the sway of Napoleon, who, perhaps, might find out a way of shutting out the air, which would, it must be confessed, be a great deal worse than imposing a penalty of only twenty pounds upon one for breaking a hole through one's own wall.—4. I wanted a man, for a day, to help to plant some trees in my garden, because the keeping them out of ground for any length of time is very injurious to them; but, I found that this aid could not be obtained, without running the risk of being either taxed or surcharged for this man as a gardener.—5. I had a little cart made for the purpose of sending to market, or elsewhere, and sometimes to put benches in to take out my children. But, when the cart was completed, and the little things on tip-toe for a ride, I was reminded, that unless the cart was entered as a taxed-cart, and notice of my intention to use it as such was given twenty days before hand to my neighbour, the shoe-maker and assessor, I should expose myself to a penalty in suffering any body to ride in the cart, unless it was, at the same time, loaded up well with straw or dung, or some sort of real loading for a cart. Not to

disappoint the children, however, I asked my neighbour to lend me his cart; but that was in the same predicament, and I remember he told me, that, his wife being ill, he wished to fetch her mother to see her, and, having no vehicle but his cart, he had fetched her in it, and for that offence had very narrowly escaped a surcharge, not to mention the tax itself, which made it, as he observed, a pretty dear trip to him. Baffled here, I applied to a person to let me his horse and gig; but, he dared not, not having entered them as kept for hire; and, as he was not a person from whom I chose to borrow, we were obliged to give up the expedition.—6. I gave a person a draft upon my publisher; but, after he had carried it home, a considerable distance off, he came back with it, saying that it was not good; and, indeed, I found, that I was forbidden by law to draw any such draft, at such a distance from London, without the special authority of a stamp.—7. I had made an engagement to go a distance from home with another person; but, on the morning of our intended departure, there came a summons from the Commissioners of Property or Income Tax, commanding his immediate personal attendance. Instead of going with me, he had to ride fifteen miles off to receive the further commands of those gentlemen, who, after keeping him about three hours in waiting, told him that the information they thought they wanted, they now found to be unnecessary. When I saw him again, you must needs think, Sir, that our conversation turned upon making "exertions and sacrifices," and as Messrs Sheridan and Bowles and Redhead Yorke have it, "for the preservation of our excellent constitution."—8. Some time ago a friend of mine, who wished to please one of my little boys, gave him a poney to learn to ride upon; and, in my system of education, this poney was really very useful; but, when the tax-gatherer came with his bill, I found that my poney (making the second horse) cost me in tax four pounds a year, though the fee simple of the poney itself was only four guineas.—9. I had a poor unfortunate puppy die, the other day, with the distemper; and, as we are compelled to give in an account every April of the highest number of dogs, above six months old, that we have kept at any one time in the year, I, not knowing the age of the puppy, was obliged to send to the place of his nativity, ten miles off, to ascertain his age; and this upon pain of paying a year's tax, or running the risk of a surcharge.—10. You have, probably heard, Sir, of a Single Stick match at Salisbury, in October last; and you

may have observed, that there were no Hampshire players there. You will think it odd; but the cause really was the system of taxation and its restraints. Our best players live up about New Alresford and Bramdean. They informed me by the waggoner, that they were ready to go, if I would go with them. I sent a letter to them by the waggoner, there being no possible means of getting at them by post. According to this letter, they were to come to me at Botley, where I should have taken them to Salisbury; but, some one told the poor waggoner, that he was doing an unlawful act in carrying the letter, which letter he, therefore, did not deliver; and thus were the players as well as myself kept in a state of ignorance with regard to each others wishes and intentions, until the Single-Stick match was over.—11. Ten instances might suffice, but I cannot refrain from mentioning the eleventh, because it serves to show that these vexations, like one's evil genius, follow one at all times and in all places. Come up to London for the Westminster election; lodged at the house of a friend; having near me neither cart nor gig, neither horse nor dog, neither man servant nor maid servant, looking through other people's windows, and, if I drank any "permitted" liquor, drinking it out of other people's glasses; in such a state, who would not have hoped to have remained for a week or two, at least, free from the visitation of the tax-gatherers? One morning, just as I was squeezing into the hustings, what should meet me but a summons to attend at the Stamp Office; and, there had I to go, and together with my two printers and my publisher, to sign a bond, and then, drawn up in a line, with our hats off before three Commissioners, to take each of us an oath; and, of what, do you think, Sir? What should you think it was that required all this ceremonious solemnity? What should you think it was that we first bound ourselves to towards man, and then, towards God? Why, Sir, it was this, *that my publisher had removed his shop from Bow Street, Covent Garden, to Brydges Street, Covent Garden.* And for this mighty cause had we all this attendance, all this binding and all this swearing!—Now, Sir, these vexations, to say nothing of the burden itself, are a part, and only a part, of what have actually occurred to me during the last night or nine months. I know that Sheridan and Bowles will laugh at a story about children riding out in a cart. They, with their claret before them, will ask why the children could not as well run about in the street, as to be in a cart, and will

wonder what I could do with a puppy or a poney, when the keep of those animals might be spared, especially as I should thereby be the better able to contribute towards their incomes, and to make "sacrifices" for the defence of the country, that is to say, in their view of it, in defence of that system which enables them to live in ease and luxury out of the labour of others. They, with their friend and associate Redhead Yorke, and I dare say, Mr. Whitbread would now join them, will tell me, that such sacrifices, and even "sacrifices of the necessities of life," must be made (by every body *except themselves*), or else the French will invade and conquer the country. But, it never seems to occur to these persons, that such sacrifices might be avoided, or, at least, that they might be greatly alleviated. They appear to regard the defence of the country, the preservation of its independence, as a great and even a sacred duty; but, the keeping of their places, with undiminished emolument, they never think it necessary to reason about, or even to insist on. They appear to look upon this as a matter upon which there cannot possibly arise a dispute, or a doubt, any more than there can respecting the necessity of air or fire or water.

III.—Upon the means of alleviating the burthen of taxation other persons think, however, if the Sheridans and the Bowles's do not; and, Sir, the far greater part of these persons do, I am persuaded, think, with me, that, in the work of alleviating, we ought to begin with the *places and pensions*.—First, however, let me say, that I am for a system according to which all *necessary* offices should be well provided for; all *real* services to the public should be well rewarded; all *losses* sustained for the sake of the public should be well compensated. Of the sinecures and pensions now subsisting those which were fully merited should be retained; but, those which were not should be abolished. Am I told, that this would be an act of *injustice*? If I am, I shall not scruple to pronounce my accuser to be a profligate, or a hypocrite. The parliament had the power to pass the Act of Settlement; it had the power to alter the course of descent of the crown; it has had the power to do away a very important provision of that act; and, shall Mr. Sheridan and John Bowles tell me, that it is unjust and unconstitutional for this "omnipotent" parliament to do away a pecuniary grant? The parliament has had power, quite sufficient power to impose all the restraints, of which I have, as above, given practical instances; it has had the power to compel men to expose all their



trading and family concerns, and secrets, as far, at least, as property goes; it has had the power, in the act for what was called the "*redeeming of the Land Tax*," to make land-owners buy part of their own land, or, in case of refusal, it has given to one man a lien upon the land of another man, and, in fact, made one man part owner of the land of another man; it has had power to authorise the present incumbents of the Church to alienate, for ever, part of the property of the Church; it has had power to cause to be deducted a tenth part of the dividends of every one (the *King and foreigners excepted*) who has property in the funds; and yet John Bowles and Messrs. Sheridan and Redhead Yorke will tell us, that, to abolish sinecures and pensions is beyond the scope of its power! This is something so barefacedly impudent, that it never could have entered into the mind of any man, who had not formed a settled resolution to live upon the country all the days of his life.—But, if all useless places and unmerited pensions and allowances of every sort were done away, would the abolition produce any very great effect in the country? I say it would; a very great and a very excellent effect. I will not, Sir, revive the misrepresentation, so long used against you, about "*cheese-parings and candle-ends*;" but, I believe, that your opinion, as well as that of many others, is, that, in the way I am speaking of, no considerable reduction of our taxes could be made; and, some of the new-converts in the Morning Chronicle have lately asked, "*what tax we would propose to take off*."—I have given you, Sir, some instances of the vexations attending the *Assessed Taxes*, and do you not think, that, if all these taxes could be taken off, the measure would afford great relief, and give quite a new spirit to the country? Well, Sir, I assert, that the whole of these taxes might now, this very session of parliament, be taken off, without producing the least injury to the business of carrying on the government and of defending the soil and the honour of England. I have made a calculation the result of which will astonish you, perhaps; but which you will, nevertheless, find perfectly correct. I find, Sir, that the *two Sheridans* cost the public annually more than the amount of all the assessed taxes of *twenty parishes*, taking the parishes of England and Wales upon an average. And, pray pause a moment, and reflect, Sir, upon the trouble, the loss of time, the vexations, the real injury to so many persons, and the discontent, which the keeping of only these two men occasion in the country!—The Sheridans would, perhaps, say, that they

perform *services* for this money; and as I do not like to dispute with them, I will leave the public, who pay them, to judge of that. But, it surely will not be pretended, that the Marquis of Buckingham performs any necessary services, as a Teller of the Exchequer. In fact, that place is a notorious sinecure; and the annual profit of it is about 30 thousand pounds. Supposing it, however, to be no more than 28 thousand a year; in that case his Lordship receives from the public more than the average amount of the assessed taxes of *sixty parishes*, taking, as before, the parishes of England and Wales upon an average. — Is this a mere trifle, Sir? Is it a thing not worth talking about?—Lord Liverpool's sinecure swallows the assessed taxes of about *fourteen parishes*; his son's sinecure, the assessed taxes of about *seven parishes*; a sinecure of Lord Hobart, the assessed taxes of about *twenty parishes*; the sinecure of Lord Sidmouth's son, the assessed taxes of about *seven or eight parishes*; a sinecure just fallen into one of the young Eden's (a son of Lord Auckland), the assessed taxes of about eight parishes; Lord Grenville's Auditorship, the assessed taxes of *fourteen parishes*; Mr. Rose's sinecure, the assessed taxes of not less than *ten parishes*; Mr. Huskinson's precious pension, not less than the assessed taxes of *three parishes*; the pension of Lady Louisa Paget, the assessed taxes of nearly *one parish*, and for *what services*, I should really like to ask her ladyship, or her immensely rich and most noble father.—These are merely mentioned as specimens, and are stated from memory. Had I leisure to refer to the accounts and reports, laid before parliament, I could make the list much too long to be contained in the sixty four columns, of which this double Number of the Register consists.—And, as to the Army, Sir, might there not be great savings made there? The army cost us, last year, about 18 millions of pounds sterling, independent of arms and ammunition, which come under the head of Ordnance. "Well; but would you have no army? And, if you have one, must it not be maintained?" I would have one, and I would maintain it well, Sir; but, a very simple statement will shew, that it is not the pay of either soldiers or officers that swallows up the money. Suppose the regular army to consist of 200 thousand effective men, and that there are no vacancies. Allow each soldier to cost 20 pounds a year, which is quite enough. Let there be 200 battalions of a thousand each; let each have 10 Ensigns at 7s. a day; ten Lieutenants at 12s. a day; 10 Captains at 20s.; a Major at

500l. a year; and a Colonel at 1000l. a year; and allow 400l. a year for additional pay to non-commissioned officers; and you will find all these most ample allowances to amount to a sum far short of 4 millions a year. — There must be horses and other things; but, even upon this bare view of the matter, is it not evident, that the immense sum placed annually against the account of the army, might be greatly reduced? Nay, when we know what has passed in the Barrack department; when we cast our eyes back upon the famous accounts of Commissaries and Quarter Masters General; when we know that the Apothecary General (who never sees the army) has a place that clears him *ten thousand* pounds a year; when we see what has just taken place with regard to the younger Sheridan, whose place of muster-master general is worth three thousand pounds a year, and to make way for whom a large pension has been settled, for life, upon his predecessor; when we see and hear all this, need we wonder, that 18 millions a year is charged to the account of the army? — The mere list of sinecures and pensions, the mere amount of those so named, is, indeed, trifling, when compared to the whole annual monstrous amount of the taxes; but, it is, I think, a new principle, that, because our expenditure is enormous it would be useless to save a part of it, however small, comparatively, that part might be. In speaking of useless places and allowances, we must not, and we will not, however, confine ourselves to what are called sinecures and pensions. We will ask (and we will hope to receive, one of these days, an answer) what reason there can be for giving the elder Sheridan 4 thousand pounds a year and a palace to live in? What reason there can be for giving "Billy Baldwin," who is also a member of parliament, from 7 to 900 pounds a year merely for paying the Police Officers their salaries? What reason there can be for keeping still on foot a "Dutch Property Office", where John Bowles and his brother Commissioners are growing rich as nabobs, long after the nation has been saddled with an enormous pension and grant for the Dutch Stadtholder? What can be the reason that the country is charged with nearly 200,000 pounds a year for *secret services*, great part of which is stated to be for secret services *at home*? Yes, certainly, we will ask, what occasion there can be for *secret services at home*, and of what description, for our good, these services can possibly be? — I have said enough, I think, to convince you, Sir, that, whenever I shall be disposed to

go into detail, I am quite able to prove this position: *that, without causing any injury to those services which are necessary to the safety and honour of the nation, the amount of the whole of the Assessed Taxes and of the Income Tax except the part imposed upon the funds, also MIGHT BE SAVED.* And, Sir, if this can be done, why should it not be done? And, if proper to be done, why should it not be done without delay, and before it be too late to talk of plans of economy? Every man of common sense and of common opportunities of observing, now clearly perceives, that the taxing system is fast approaching towards an utter extinction of private property; that the state has laid its hold upon property of all sorts, in so many different ways, that no man can scarcely say he has any thing, properly speaking, *his own*, the land-owner himself being little more than the steward of the government, and, steward-like, is compelled to oppress and harass the tenants under him, until they are at last driven to the work-house. These truths every man of common sense now perceives; and, he perceives also, that, without a great change in the system, a change which you will do me the justice to recollect I *always* represented as absolutely necessary; every man of common sense perceives, that, without such a change, the burthens of taxation *must go on increasing*; and for what will finally be the consequences of such continued increase, he refers you to the late taxers upon the Continent. — There are, however, other measures, Sir, which, in my opinion, the necessities of our situation require to be adopted; but of those I must speak in a fourth letter, which I shall take the liberty to address to you. In the meanwhile,

I remain,

Sir,

Your most humble,
and most obedient Servant,
W. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Under this head I should, if I had had time, have submitted to the reader some remarks upon the probable consequences of the entrance of the French into Poland; — Upon the propriety of our government making any provision, out of the taxes of this country, to the princes and princesses, whom Napoleon may have stripped of their revenues by his late conquests; — Upon the dispute between this country and the United States of America, and especially upon the appointment of Mr. Erskine, as our Minister Plenipotentiary to the United

States;—Upon the state, and the views of parties in the House of Commons, which is now about to meet;—Upon the annual humbug, long confined to the *Sun*, but now taken up by the *Morning Chronicle*, relative to "the unexampled flourishing state of our finances;"—Upon the challenges, sent by Messrs. *Whitbread* and *Redhead Yorke* (very worthy fellow-labourers) to Sir Francis Burdett;—And, upon a most delightful subject, *the Play-Actors' Dinner to the Sheridans*. This last was so tempting that I should not have been able to have refrained;

but, it has been announced to me, that, for the next Number, a sort of official defence of the Sheridans has been prepared, and will be sent to me, if I will insert it. Not only will I insert every word of it; but, I will abstain from saying any thing more of the Sheridans, until the public has had an opportunity of seeing this their defence. I am always for fair play. My opinion is, that, in the long run, no cause ever gained any thing from foul play; and of the soundness of this opinion, the Sheridans are, I should think, by this time, feelingly convinced.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST VOLUME

OF

Cobbett's Parliamentary History,

Which, in the compass of Sixteen Volumes, royal octavo, double page, will contain a full and accurate report of all the recorded proceedings, and of all the speeches, in both Houses of Parliament, from the earliest times to the year 1803, when the publication of "COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES" commenced.

Whoever has had frequent occasion to recur to the Proceedings in Parliament, of former times, must have experienced those difficulties which it is the object of the present Work to remove. Merely to find the several works wherein is contained an account of the Parliamentary Proceedings, is, at this day, no easy matter; some of them being very scarce, and others excessively voluminous. Hardly any of them, those of the last twenty years excepted, are to be purchased regularly at the Booksellers. The far greater part of them are to be come at by accident only; and, of course, sometimes not to be obtained at all. But, supposing them all to be at hand, the price of them is no trifling object; and, in many cases, must present a difficulty not to be easily, or, at least willingly, surmounted. Of these works, taken in their chronological order, the first is, "The Parliamentary or Constitutional History," in Twenty-four Volumes; the second, "Sir Simonds D'Ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments;" the third, "Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons in 1620 and 1621, collected by a Member of that House, and published from his Original Manuscript in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford," in Two Volumes; the fourth, "Chandler's and Timberland's Debates," in Twenty-two

Volumes; the fifth, "Debates of the House of Commons, from the year 1667 to the year 1694, collected by the Honourable Anchtell Grey, Esq., who was thirty years Member for the town of Derby," in Ten Volumes; the sixth, "Almon's Debates," in twenty-four Volumes; and, the seventh, "Debrett's Debates" (now in the hands of various Booksellers) in Sixty-three Volumes. These works are not to be purchased, if to be purchased at all, under One Hundred and Ten Pounds sterling. But still, with all these, the information wanted is very imperfect, without perpetually having recourse to the Journals of the two Houses, which Journals occupy upwards of a hundred volumes in folio: so that the price of a complete set of the works, in this way, cannot, upon an average of purchases, be reckoned at less than One Hundred and Fifty Pounds.

These difficulties surmounted, another, and a still more formidable obstruction to the acquiring of information is found, not merely in the number and the bulk of the volumes, but also in the want of a good arrangement of the contents of most of them; and, further, in the immense load of useless matter, quite unauthentic, and very little connected with the real Proceedings of Parliament, to be found in many of them. In the first-mentioned Work, we find a narrative of battles;

si ges, and of domestic occurrences. The real Proceedings of Parliament form but a comparatively small proportion of it; whole pamphlets of the day, and very long ones, being, in many places, inserted just as they were published and sold; and, when we come down even to the Debates by Almon and Debrët (taking in Woodfall and others occasionally), we find, that, in numerous instances, three-fourths of the volume consists of Papers laid before Parliament, of mere momentary utility, repeated in subsequent and more correct statements, and now nothing but an expense, and, what is much worse, an incumbrance to the reader, and a constantly intervening obstacle to his researches; to which may be added, with respect to all the Debates from Almon's inclusive, downwards, that there is a total want of all that aid which is afforded by well contrived Running Titles, Tables, and Indexes, and which are so necessary in every voluminous work, particularly if it relate to the transactions of a long series of years.

With a view of removing all these difficulties, and of putting the Public in possession of a History of the Proceedings in Parliament, from the Norman Conquest to the year 1803, (when the Work entitled, "Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates" commenced) as complete as that which has met with such general approbation in this last-mentioned Work, the present publication is undertaken. The Sixteen Volumes, of which the Work will consist, and the first of which is now presented to the Public, will be printed in the same form and size as those of the "Parliamentary Debates," with this difference only, that the character of this Work, which has been cast expressly for the occasion, will, in the same compass, introduce one-fifth more of matter. When, therefore it is recollected, that so large a part of the several Works above enumerated, is taken up with matter, as before described, wholly unconnected, or having but a very remote connection, with the Proceedings in Parliament, and entirely destitute of authenticity; when it is recollected also, how much room is saved by the abbreviation of words descriptive of titles and of constantly occurring phrases of courtesy, the reader will not be surprised, that the whole of the Authentic and Useful Records of the Proceedings of the Parliament of England, of that of Great Britain, and of that of the United Kingdom, down to the year 1803, will be comprised in the Sixteen Volumes of this work, which will, upon the best computation that can be made, contain as much print as One Hundred and Forty common octavo volumes.

The present Volume, comprising the period from the Conquest to the Death of James the First, has been compiled principally from the Records, the Rolls of Parliament, the Parliamentary or Constitutional History, and from the most reputable English Historians. From the Reign of Henry the Eighth inclusive, we have the additional aid of the Journals of the House of Lords; and from that of Edward the Sixth, that of the Journals of the House of Commons. Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, has been diligently consulted, and the Debates of the House of Commons in the years 1620 and 1621, published from the Manuscript in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford, have been carefully incorporated, under their respective dates. The State of the Peerage, and Lists of the Members of the House of Commons have, from time to time, been given: and at the close of the Parliamentary History of each reign, will be found Lists of the Public Acts passed; together with an account of the Taxes imposed, of the Supplies, of the State of the Revenue, and of the Value of Money in relation to the Price of Provisions.

To the Volume is prefixed a copious Table of Contents, and a variety of useful Lists of the Persons who have filled the several high Offices of the State from the Conquest down to the Death of James the First. It was originally intended to give an Index to each Volume; but, at the suggestion of several eminent literary persons, it has been determined to undertake A GENERAL INDEX of the whole Work, which will be constructed upon the excellent Plan recommended by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1766, and afterwards adopted by the persons employed to make out the Indexes to the Journals; which General Index will, of course, be contained in the Volume with which the Work will close.

In a Work of this nature, the utmost impartiality is justly expected; and it is with confidence presumed, that a careful perusal of the following pages will convince the reader, that that impartiality has been strictly and invariably adhered to. Nothing has been inserted without due authority; and, as the object has been, not so much to dive into matters of Antiquity, as to preserve what was really useful, many things have been omitted which would have swelled the bulk of the work, without adding to its usefulness. Nothing, however, has been left out, which was not judged to be spurious or not agreeable to the design of such a Collection; nor any thing added,

merely on account of its being favourable to the reputation or the doctrines of any party whatever. In short, whatever appeared to have been actually said or done, in either House of Parliament, that had any tendency to what ought to be the chief object of such a publication, has, as far as authentic materials could be procured, been recorded with scrupulous fidelity.

It would be improper to conclude, without returning thanks to the several Noblemen and Gentlemen, who have obligingly offered the use of their valuable collections, some of which have already been found to be of great advantage to the undertaking, and others will, in the course of the work, be applied for and gratefully received. The many judicious suggestions, which have, from various quarters, been communicated, have been, and in future will be, carefully attended to; and, it is hoped, that the execution of the Work will prove that no pains, of any kind, have been spared to render it equal to that expectation, which, with respect to the manner as well as the matter of it, has evidently been conceived by no inconsiderable part of the well-informed men in this kingdom.

With the literary aid which the Compiler has received, the Public has, perhaps, strictly speaking, little to do; but, he cannot, for one hour, exist under the idea, that the whole of the merit, whatever it may be, should be ascribed to himself, to the exclusion of the invaluable talents and exertions of the Gentleman, who is his principal assistant, and upon whom no small share of the execution has devolved.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 1806.

The second volume will be ready for delivery on the 25th of March, 1807; and, so on, a volume every quarter of a year, till the whole be completed. This distance between the periods of publication will have many conveniencies attending it, and particularly that of leaving the young reader time to have gone through one volume before he has another to purchase. The price of each volume, containing, as was observed, more print than eight common octavo volumes, is 1l. 11s. 6d. in extra boards, uncut. The work is published by Mr. BAGSHAW, Brydges Street, Covent Garden; sold also by Mr. BUDD, Pall Mall, Mr. FAULDER, Bond Street, Messrs BLACKS and PARRY, Leadenhall Street, and Mr. ARCHER, Dublin.

COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.
Of the above booksellers may also be had,

in Seven Volumes royal octavo, neatly half-bound in Russia leather, complete sets of COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES from the commencement in 1803 to the Dissolution of the Last Parliament. The first number of the Eighth Volume, will be ready for delivery shortly after the meeting of the NEW PARLIAMENT.

THE PLAY ACTORS' DINNER TO THE SHERIDANS.

On Sunday, the 30th of November, an entertainment was given at the Piazza Coffee House, by the gentlemen of Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres, to Mr. Sheridan. The table was laid out in a horse-shoe form. At the top was Mr. Wroughton in the chair, with the elder Sheridan on his left and his son Thomas on his right. Mr. Sheridan did not arrive till late. He apologized to the company by saying that he had just been attending a meeting of the privy council. He appeared unusually thoughtful during dinner, and seemed deeply affected with the recent melancholy news from the continent. The dinner and wines were excellent. The meeting was indeed "the feast of reason, and the flow of soul." The Dramatis Personæ were Incledon, Braham, Purser, Kelly, Emperor Clermont, Munden, Ledger, Johnstone, Dowton, Taylor, Sam Spring, Blanchard, Elliston, Downes, Powell, R. Palmer, Mathews, &c. Neither Mr. Kemble nor his Brother Charles honoured the company with their presence. After dinner the King, Queen, and Family, and Prince of Wales were drunk with accustomed honours. "*Non nobis Domine,*" on account of its being Sunday, was proposed by Mr. Sheridan, and was most feelingly and melodiously given by Incledon, Braham, Kelly, Taylor, and Munden. After the usual toasts, Mr. Wroughton, the president, proposed the health of his right honourable friend, Mr. Sheridan, which was drunk with unbounded applause.

Mr. SHERIDAN rose. He expressed his utmost satisfaction at the honour they had done him, not only in supporting him by their individual exertions in his canvass and during the election, but more particularly as it was from a profession that lay nearest his heart, a profession, the followers of which were enabled to decide upon the scale of right and wrong, with more judgment than fell to the lot of the generality of men. They must naturally be possessed of more shrewdness—they must necessarily dive deeper into the hearts of men [*great applause.*] On this part of his subject, he said it had been urged against him by Mr.

Cobbett, that he was the son of an actor. True : he was the son of an actor ; and he gloried that he was so. When his father first went upon the stage, he did not consider that he had disgraced the line of ancestry which he could boast—ancestry which had even royal blood in its veins ; for Mr. Cobbett seemed to be strangely ignorant of his family, when he accused him of low birth. He would recommend Mr. Cobbett to visit Ireland, where he might soon learn the high blood that ran in his veins, and the antiquity of his family. “ I do not,” said he, “ mention this as any boast—every man is respectable who makes himself so ; but to wipe off the obloquy which a foul slanderer would fasten on me ; but for him I entertain the most ineffable contempt, and with this feeling shall I treat him and the rabble that follow and support him. Mr. Cobbett should be silent. My son, who is now present, will completely put him down.” Mr. Sheridan dwelt on this part of his subject with a mind evidently galled, sore, and betraying an impatience very unlike the rest of his demeanour. He then thanked the actors for the many and various favours he had received from them ; he said he considered this as the proudest day of his life, and could never sufficiently express his gratitude to them. He concluded by acknowledging that he was as proud of his alliance with the actors as of any alliance he had formed during his long and chequered life ; and complimented them on their talents, activity, and zeal in his behalf.

Mr. SHERIDAN then gave "The Immortal Memory of Mr. Fox," which was drunk standing, and in awful silence.

When the gloom excited by the last toast was somewhat worn away, Mr. **SHERIDAN** gave amidst most immoderate bursts of laughter, his "*Old Friends, the Patriotic Females of Westminster.*"—Mr. **T. SHERIDAN** gave "*The Stage,*" which was loudly welcomed.—Mr. Grubb then rose, and proposed the health of Mr. Thomas Sheridan.

Mr. T. SHERIDAN rose and said, " Gentlemen, I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude for the honour you have done me. My father in returning you thanks for your unparralelled exertions, mentioned a Mr. Cobbett, a satellite of Mr. Paull's. This Mr. Cobbett has stated that I am a gambler, a street loungeur, and that I have laid down the sword for the more profitable pen. I will tell this Mr. Cobbett that he has laid down the halberd for the pen [*peals of laughter*]. This man, for his roughness and vulgarity towards my father, (whom I think

I may fairly describe as the person in whom eloquence may be said to preside),—I had intended to thrash, and for that purpose I went down to his house with a cane, but he was not at home. I afterwards thought it best to offer him a pistol, and wrote to him for the purpose, but this valiant Mr. Cobbett answered me by saying, that he never fought duels. Gentlemen, this Mr. Cobbett reminds me of a person in one of Congreve's witty comedies, called Bully-back, who is represented as attending and assisting Sir John Whittol in that play, and who never could speak, but when his friend Bully-back was at his elbow to prompt and urge him on, and this is exactly what Mr. Cobbett was to Mr. Paull, who never could say a word but when his Bully-back prompted him. And this goes to prove, Gentlemen, that though Mr. Cobbett dislikes to become a *principal* he has no objection to be a *second*."

Mr. MUNDEN sang T. Dibden's celebrated song of "*Poor Dido*." Incledon and Braham, with great effect, sang Jackson's Canonet, "Time has not thinned my flowing hair." Mathews of Drury Lane, attempted an imitation of Mr. Paull on the Hustings, but was so unlike him in manner, person, and language, that it is too contemptible to notice. The elder Sheridan seemed, however, highly delighted with it, and honoured it with his frequent applauses.—Major Downes sang an excellent song of his own composing. Emperor Clermont gave Shakespeare's "*Mulberry Tree*" with great effect. Mr. Sam Spring rose and made a neat speech. Great as his admiration was for the "*Mulberry Tree*" of our Immortal Bard, there was another *Tree* which, with the approbation of the Company, he would give, and that was "*The COCOA TREE*," "and may it ever flourish." [Loud applauses with laughter.]—Lord Barrymore, attended by the Reverend Mr. Barry, and a few friends, entered the room about 11 o'clock. As soon as they were seated,

MR. SHERIDAN addressed the company a second time. He contrasted the juvenile nobility of this country, with the old nobility of France. He was convinced, that the Revolution in that country was, in a great measure, occasioned by the contempt of the nobility for the people. He alluded most eloquently to the recent possession of Hamburgh by the French. "England," exclaimed the Right Honourable Treasurer, "with all thy faults, I love thee still, be-
"cause thou'rt free." There was in this country more freedom than in any other. This was, indeed, a condition of society

worth defending. He felt it to be so. The present was a most momentous and perilous crisis; but we must employ our best energies to repress the evil. Burthens, greater far greater, than those we now laboured under, we should have to bear: taxes we must submit to: deprivations we should prepare for: let us curtail our superfluities; let us resolve to face the foe, and to preserve the Throne and Independence of our Country, or courageously perish in the conflict: [*Unbounded Applauses*].—Mr. Sheridan retired at 2 o'clock. His son favoured the company with his presence till 6 in the morning.

LETTERS BETWEEN MR. WHITBREAD AND
SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

To Sir Francis Burdett, Bart.

SIR;—Ever since my entrance into public life as a Member of Parliament, it has been my earnest wish to divest political differences of all personal animosity, and I have been at all times ready to concede to others, with regard to myself, the liberty I have assumed towards them, of the fullest and freest discussion of every part of my public conduct. But there are limits, beyond which it is not possible to step, without injury to the party who may happen to be the subject of animadversions, such as he must be compelled to resent.—It is with pain I am forced to say, that I feel myself so injured, by some passages contained in your Advertisement to the Freeholders of Middlesex, published in the Statesman of yesterday.—In the face of the People of England, you tell me, that, by the publication of a Letter addressed to you, in answer to a printed Circular Letter addressed by you to me, as one of the Electors of Middlesex, “I have acted in a manner most unbecoming my station, connections, and character.”—After the account I gave you privately on the Hustings at Brentford, respecting the Letter in question, which was, “That it was written without concert or consultation with any person whatever, that I began it within half an hour after the receipt of your Circular Letter and Address; that it was out of my hands before four o'clock on the same day; and that it was entrusted to the revision of one friend only (and that not till after the copy addressed to you had been sealed and dispatched), in order that he might see whether, from the haste in which it was written, it was not too inaccurate in point of language for publication;”—you say, that “I addressed that letter nominally, and with dissembled respect, to you; but that I intended it as a political electioneering manoeuvre a-

gainst the Freeholders of Middlesex.”—I did not dissemble, Sir, in any part of that transaction; and at the time I wrote, I unfeignedly, as I told you, felt respect towards you; and if you possess those feelings with which I am still willing and desirous to believe that you are actuated, you feel that it is impossible for me not to demand reparation for the injury my character must sustain from a patient acquiescence under such imputation as you have most unprovokedly thrown upon me—such reparation I demand at your hands.—Mr. Brand has been so good as to undertake to carry this Letter, and is the only person who is acquainted with the circumstance of its having been written.—He will state to you what my demands are.—This is not the time to enter into what I conceive to be the fallacy generally, or the injustice personally, pervading the whole of your Advertisement.—You are certainly not so much in my confidence as to entitle you to tell the people what my Political Views are; but I have never yet done any one political act, from the recollection of which I shrink; nor will I ever do one, without making as well understood, as my faculties will permit, what the grounds are upon which that act was done. It will be for the public to determine then upon my conduct. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

Southill, December, 2 1806.

To Samuel Whitbread, Esq.

SIR;—Nothing could have been more distant from my intention, than to introduce into the Advertisement, which I thought it necessary to address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, any expression which could be construed into personal disrespect to yourself; and I take this opportunity of assuring you, that every interpretation of its contents, which may be perverted into a sense personally disrespectful to you, is contrary to my meaning and intention. I remain, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

FRANCIS BURDETT.

Piccadilly, December, 3 1806

P. S. Mr. Brand thinks it necessary to gave publicity to this Correspondence, to which I can have no objection.

NATIONAL DEFENCE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. WM. WINDHAM.

SIR,—The prepossessions of powerful minds yield not to slight circumstances, and numerous causes frequently concur to prevent a full and perfectly dispassionate scrutiny into opinions, which have grown upon us from our political situation, or which

have been deeply rooted in our bosoms by mental complexion or habits of thought.

Your prepossession, Sir, against a reliance on *the People in Arms*, and in favour of a *regular standing army*, as the proper defence of a nation, was not it seems shaken, either by the subjugation of Italy, or the Low Countries to the dominion of France; and even the events of Marengo and of Austerlitz were quoted by you in support of your own side of the question; while on other minds those events, especially the latter, flashed a contrary conviction, never to be eradicated.

Your own observation, Sir, that "after the imperial *regular army* had been beat at Ulm, the Austrian population became an unresisting medium to the passage of the French legions," so far from an argument against defence by a *people in arms*, was a demonstration of its necessity.

No rational man talks of defending a state by *the people in arms*, unless that people be FREE, and in regular training; nor unless there be a complete organization, and a matured system at all times in preparation, for promptly putting them in motion, for preserving perfect order, and for bringing to bear upon invaders, and without waste of power, every particle of the physical force of the nation, and the whole of its moral energies. Was it not, Sir, because the Austrian population were utterly destitute of FREEDOM, of arms, of training, of organization, and of a prepared system interwoven into the laws and habits of the people, that they became "an unresisting medium" to invaders? Here, Sir, you see that its *despotism* was the sole cause of the disaster of the Austrian empire.—But, Sir, had it been possible for the sovereign of Austria to have opposed to those invaders MILLIONS OF ARMED MEN, conscious of LIBERTY, feeling that enthusiastic devotion to their country and its government which freedom ever inspires, and breathing an inextinguishable hatred and abhorrence of ruffians and cut-throats, coming with fire and sword to deprive them of their happiness, to sieze their property, to desolate their fields, to drive them from their homes, to violate their females, and to reduce themselves and their posterity to the vile condition of slaves,—and all this merely to gratify the ambition of a madman,—could the Austrian, I say, have thus opposed Napoleon, must not French carcasses have raised a mound for Austrian defence, and France have been drained to the last conscript, ere their leader could have penetrated ten leagues beyond his own frontier?

Now, turn, Sir, the eye of reflection towards that gloomy space in the North of Europe which, but yesterday, was a mighty monarchy, and to day is a spoil, to be rent asunder and dealt out among the satellites of that same Napoleon! Contemplate, Sir, this instructive lesson to kings and statesmen! Ruminat on the events, and that despotism which was their radical cause! Where is now that *Prussian army* once so potent and so glorious? How has it defended the territory and the throne of its master?—The large proportion of it that has been given to slaughter, we know not: we only conjecture its amount from the great numbers, which, while hunted by surrounding packs of tygers, we know to have daily perished with hunger and fatigue; or, from reading the bulletin of the conqueror, that his prisoners exceed a hundred and forty thousand; where it is added, that, on this side of Poland, not a Prussian soldier remains. Not one solitary fragment is to be found, of that pride of armies which, under the Great Frederick, was the dread of his rivals, a model to Europe, and a school of science to the military of all nations! Awful consideration! O liberty! had I never before been thy votary, now at least I should become a convert to thy worship! It is for you, Mr. Windham, the war minister of your country, to ask yourself, if events such as we behold, inculcate the lesson, of resting the defence of that country upon a *regular standing army*, or upon the *free millions of the land in arms*! It is for you also to reflect on the consequences to follow, from the shipping of the whole south shores of the Baltic, being added to the naval means of him who meditates our downfall. It is for you, moreover, to consider the possibilities, by which even the maritime strength of Sweden and Russia, in alliance with France, may be turned against us. The morality of despots is the lust of power, and the pride of aggrandizement. When the crafty Corsican shall, in the East, have ministered to the aggrandizement of the Czar, and when all the northern, and all the southern nations, shall at once from every shore between Archangel and the Dardenelles, pour out upon this land their myriads for our destruction, it will then, Sir, believe me, be too late, to repent of having disregarded the constitution, and despised the wisdom of an Alfred; it will then be too late to give to our defence, such a solid foundation of ENGLISH LIBERTY, such an organization, and such a perfection of practical arrangement, as to render it available to our preservation! Knowing, Sir, that I have done my duty, I can with personal composure meet the worst of public calumny.

ties. No responsibility having been cast upon me, but having faithfully laboured towards an effectual and infallible defence, no one, in the day of horror, can plant a sting in my bosom, by saying to me, '*This we owe to you!*'

As, Sir, you have long been in possession of what is prescribed by the military branch of our constitution, together with my leading sentiments on this great subject, and as those once adopted, will necessarily lead to what remains, I shall not now trespass longer on your time. Conjuring you to reconsider what is in your hands, and to revise our present imperfect plan of defence, I have the honour to remain, with much respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,
Nov. 30, 1806. JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

MILITARY FORCE.

SIR;—The perspicuity and ability with which your correspondent B. has written upon the subject of our military force cannot but claim considerable respect and attention, and the more so, as he appears to have given the subject much consideration. I cannot, however, Mr. Cobbett, bring my mind to the same conclusion with your correspondent, when he urges the evident necessity of a standing army in lieu of our volunteers and militia forces; and I must here take the liberty of making a preliminary remark, that however forcible an argument in favor of such a measure might have been after the Peace of Amiens, from the probable advantage which a British army might have produced upon the Continent, yet surely we cannot view the present calamitous situation of that Continent, and not admit that no such expectation now remains, and that consequently the argument in this respect is considerably enfeebled; so that the question at present seems purely to be reduced within the limits of our own individual defence—whether or not it be incident to man, in proportion as his enjoyments daily decrease, to have an increasing anxiety to preserve what little remains, and on that account to be over liberal in the anticipation of dangers which may be very remote and unlikely to happen. I confess that for myself I do feel an extraordinary degree of jealousy and suspicion at all arguments which tend to shew the necessity of an increased standing army in this country; because, Sir, I am impressed with a strong opinion that however beneficial such a force may be in the hour of attack from a foreign enemy, that it daily menaces us with the destruction of that, for which alone a country be worth defending, I mean our national liberty. But this apprehension appears

to be neither imaginary nor novel, as we find the most acute and best informed authors have entertained a similar conception: "Another great advantage," says De Lolme, "attending the remarkable stability of the English government is; that the same is operated without the assistance of an armed standing force;" and Gibbon observes, "that the licentiousness of the *Prætorian bands*, who received their institution from the crafty Augustus, were the first symptom and cause of the decline of the Roman Empire." I am of opinion, that if we pursue the inquiry still further, we shall find that a standing army is a viper that sooner or later inflicts a mortal wound on the bosom that has cherished it.—If then, Sir, the destruction of our national liberty be consequential on such a mode of defence, we are certainly reduced to a very hard condition, if we have no other alternative than what your correspondent mentions; as it seems to me of very little importance, whether we permit the Corsican usurper to enslave us, or enslave ourselves. It cannot however be questioned, that we should most clearly defer the adoption of so dangerous an expedient until we are satisfied no other remedy is left us; and this, I think will lead us to the inquiry, first, whether we are in any serious danger of combating the enemy on our own shores; and if we are, then, 2ndly, whether we have no fair prospect of making a successful resistance by the aid alone of our present military establishments. With respect to the first inquiry, we are necessarily led to the consideration of the present miserable and crippled state of the enemy's navy, and we may fairly I presume disarm ourselves of any serious alarm of an invasion, while it remains in so forlorn a condition; but it may be answered that a wise man provides for the future, and that the recent events on the Continent have afforded our enemy the means of building a considerable navy, and that hereafter we may tremble for the dominion of the seas; but I should much wish to ascertain, Sir, whether, after Buonaparté has accomplished such a navy, he will be able, while the British officers and seamen preserve their wonted energy and vigilance, to form a junction of his ships to any considerable or formidable extent; this seems at least problematical, and I am inclined to believe at present that no such junction could take place; however I shall feel most happy on seeing this point fairly discussed by one of your nautical correspondents. With regard to the second branch of the inquiry, whether, supposing the enemy to land, the zeal and energy of our Volunteers with an armed peasantry,

and our present standing force, would not be amply sufficient for our defence. I acknowledge myself for an answer indebted in some degree to your correspondent's letter, who informs us, that the Neapolitan peasantry under Cardinal Ruffo delivered their country from the French; and he also reminds us of the conduct of the Americans, and the final issue of the American war; and, Sir, in addition to these facts, do we not know that the citizens of the Swiss States more than once effectually repulsed a veteran German army far exceeding themselves in numbers; and, Sir, let it be remembered too that the Romans, surrounded as they were by belligerent nations, had no army in pay till after the siege of Veii in Tuscany; and what is important to be noticed, we are here speaking of continental states possessing none of those advantages peculiar to our insular situation. I must admit however that the nations I have mentioned, were animated with the sincere love of their country; a country where they enjoyed freedom without oppression, and where too every man could support himself and his family by dint of manual labour; no wonder then that they thought, and justly thought, their lives well hazarded in the defence of such benefits. Could it be doubted, Mr. Cobbett, that if this country were so situated, the same result would follow from the generous zeal and energy of the people; the contrary of which, in *despite of standing armies*, has reduced the Continent to almost one general wreck. Let then our ministers put us upon a parallel with those nations where courage and magnanimity have been pre-eminent among the people, which can only be done by what you, Sir, have so frequently urged, the relieving the inhabitants from the accumulated burthen of those insatiable leeches of the state, our sinecure placemen and pensioners; by reforming the disgraceful venality of our boroughs, and affording us a real not an ideal representation; a House of Commons, where the members shall confine their grants of the public money to the necessary exigencies of the state; and not where one-third of the members are voting unnecessary salaries and pensions to *themselves* or their relatives. Let us, Sir, have but such a reformation as this, and we shall find in the hour of battle, every citizen rushing with resistless impetuosity on the enemy, imitating the renowned young warrior at the battle of Philippi, who died, gloriously, exclaiming,

Fam the son of Marcus Cato,

A foe to tyrants, and my country's friend.

We want, Mr. Cobbett, but this animation, to leave our enemy but the mere shales and

"husks of men." But whether, Sir, we shall ever have ministers endued with so much patriotism, as to afford us the hope of so desirable a change in our measures, or whether we are doomed to continue the prey of avarice and speculation, I shall still give my warmest, though feeble opposition, to the raising of an additional standing force.
December, 9 1806. M. S.

ON THE MODERN SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE. LETTER II.

[For Letter the 1st see p. 279.]

Acta exteriora indicant interiora secreta.

Sir;—Whatever may be your Yorkshire correspondent's opinion, (see p. 406) as to the motives which dictated the former Observations on the Modern System of Agriculture, I shall proceed to notice the arguments which he has adduced, in order to obviate any prejudice, which he does me the honour to suppose, that paper may have excited against the persons whose conduct it condemns. The gentleman, in a parenthetical sentence, objects to the phrase *agricultural mania*; he surely cannot mean to say that it is inapplicable; for view, in what light you will, the novel infatuation which induces our nobility and gentry to attempt the cultivation of the land, some such appellation as *mania, rage, or fashion*, must be given to it. In the infancy of a society every member must sustain some part of the toil, requisite to procure a supply of food and raiment; but, as it increases in population, and advances in civilization and wealth, a portion of its community is gradually, and through various circumstances, withdrawn from the mass of productive labourers, and become a distinct class of themselves. They assume a new character, essentially different from their former one; and in the progress of time and of increased prosperity, these again are divided into ranks, which, perhaps, have universally originated in superior military prowess or relative intellectual perfection. Certain distinctions and honours are attached to them, which, according to circumstances, descend with the titles to their posterity. They are entirely subsisted and maintained in the splendour of their respective ranks, by the labouring part of the population; who in return, expect, and indeed, have a right to demand that, they should take upon them the cares of government, and provide protection for their persons and property. This is, what I conceive to be, the outline of that great active principle which connects a society, and which influences the many, for the welfare of the whole, to submit to the domination of the elevated few. At no pe-

riod do we find examples of a statesman, a legislator, a general, or a divine, having attained to excellence, or even mediocrity in his profession, without having previously devoted many years time and attention, almost exclusively to the studies which tend to form the character; and, although some persons may not admit that this is a general rule, yet the exception can only refer to such occasional coruscations of genius, as have been displayed in a Crichton, &c. &c. At the present day, few men will be disposed to vote for the dispensation of previous initiation, since recent events fully evince that, the eminently characteristic qualities of their ancestry do not uniformly descend with the titles, honours, and wealth of an aristocracy.—It should be observed that, in an inquiry of this nature, the term *aristocracy* does not merely comprise a titled nobility, who, in many instances, hold only an adventitious rank in the state, but that it also refers to the whole body of great landed proprietors; men, whose territorial possessions afford a nett revenue, more than sufficient to purchase for themselves and their families, exemption from actual labour, personal ease and independence: these form the proper and real aristocracy of a nation, and they are the subject of these remarks.—I scarcely think that the disinterested portion of your readers will admit that turning a sod, handling a mutton, or stuffing an ox with oil cake, are occupations at all suitable to persons in that situation of life*; and more particularly so, at a time when our workhouses and other receptacles for the poor, are filled with labourers, in want of adequate employment. Such a mode of spending their time, is not the most beneficial to the country, nor the most creditable to whatever talents they may possess. With every facility of acquiring knowledge and information, with the power which is delegated to them, it is their duty to promote the country's welfare, and to improve its relative situation with other nations; and, in all their undertakings and endeavours to effect these objects, they should have regard to the character in which they stand; they are the *primum mobile* not the

* Perhaps A. D. will say, that they do not condescend to employ themselves in actual labour, but that the benefits which we are to derive from the system, will be the consequence of NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN, "turning their comprehensive minds to the PURSUIT of agriculture; and of employing their leisure hours in directing the cultivation of farms!!" *Oh! villici, abnormes sapientes.* wol beweiselt sich zu nemmino

effecting machine; they are the actuating principle, and all their care and attention should be turned solely to the right direction of its impulse. Assuredly, then, when they leave this higher sphere, in which, by the common consent of time and of their contemporaries, they are placed, when—sentiment has no longer influence sufficient to retain them, they recede from their duty, and certainly, at the best, debase themselves. In a man who has not wherewithal to maintain himself, industry, exerted in any shape to procure the means of subsistence, is commendable; and when directed to agricultural pursuits is most honourable and most worthy; but that such pursuits are either worthy of men of rank and independence, or honourable to them, I totally deny for the reasons already stated. The arguments which A. D. prefers, are very weak, and are clothed in the ambiguous dress of interrogatory. To the propositions which he proposes, every one will concede an affirmative; but, he does not tell us, by whom all these desirable circumstances have been effected, or whether those improvements have been carried to any extent. Indeed, I am led to believe, from the information which I possess, that, with a few exceptions, these modern agriculturists are now acting upon a plan, which, if persevered in, will soon put an end to all improvement, and must ultimately cause a further consolidation of farms; an event which will inevitably be attended with every species of bad management and a diminution of produce. It will be accompanied by a system of as complete monopoly of the essential articles of subsistence as has ever existed; and, consequently, terminate only in the direful changes of a revolution. A principal evil I shall notice, of the truth of which, it is in the power of every man, who resides near the estate of any of those pseudo self-sufficient agriculturists, to satisfy himself; and which A. D. will find difficult to controvert or defend. I allude to the form of leases on which they now let their farms. In these will be found restrictive covenants, for the most part as absurd, as they will prove injurious to the country at large. We here see, in a most glaring light, the peculiar blessings to be derived "from their superior means of information, by travelling, &c. &c." Why did he omit,—by the edifying conversation and intercourse which they enjoy with men of the same stamp, at Christmas cattle shews and feasts, and at various provincial agricultural meetings? whence they derive a very imperfect knowledge of practices, which they immediately attempt to "introduce into their own counties," with-

out considering the dissimilarity of soil, local position, climate, and of other circumstances. In truth, our modern agriculturist does not stop here: he finds plausible language and earnest recommendation too weak and inefficient, when opposed to the stubborn prejudices of experience, and to the laughing ridicule of practical men. Therefore, not content with merely attempting to introduce, he calls coercion to his aid, and obliges his tenantry to conform to his ill considered mode of cultivating the land by these novel processes, and accordingly, inserts compulsory clauses to that effect in his leases, subjecting the tenants to heavy penalties for non-performance*. It may be asked, why do not the labouring or real farmers oppose themselves to these mischievous and arrogant dictates of the land-holders? And whence does it arise that land for occupation is nearly as much in request now as 15 or 20 years ago? To the former, I answer, that a man, the early part of whose life has been spent in farming concerns, is totally incompetent to any other calling. Men, educated to other professions or trades, may, in a greater or less degree, be capable of a different occupation; but, the ideas and habits of a farmer are incompatible with aught but his peculiar pursuit. And, whatever property he may have, he would chuse rather to employ in that line, although he should not be able to derive more than a bare subsistence from the joint operation of his personal efforts, and of his monied capital; because it would be more congenial to his mind and disposition than that which might, perhaps, be more profitable in its results.—To the latter interrogatory, it may be replied, that the extensive consolidation of farms that has

* A noble lord married to an illustrious lady, guardian to a minor duke, has prohibited two successive crops of white straw, in a county where the soil always insures a good crop of oats, when every other seed may have failed, as is very often the case; therefore, the chance is, that at least one-third of the arable land will remain uncultivated three years out of five. In other instances, the farmers are restrained from ploughing any land which has not been broken up during the last 6, 8 or 10 years, however worn out and exhausted the grass may be; and innumerable cases might be adduced, in which the prescribed course of crops tend to fill the ground with weeds, &c. Indeed, can any man of common sense conceive that an uniform mode of cultivation will succeed on such a diversity of soil, as is to be found on every farm?

taken place within these few years, has bereaved a numerous tenantry of their farms; and, agreeably to the foregoing reasoning, has alone induced a competition thitherto unknown. But, let no man suppose that this will continue to be the case; if any do, let him inquire of the remaining few real farmers, and he will learn that their sons are almost all destined to other callings; and that their conduct in this respect originates solely in the opinion that farming on a moderate scale (the most beneficial to the nation) is no longer profitable. Perhaps, it may be suggested that, when land is less in demand, its cultivation will soon after become an object of the most advantageous employment of capital, and that, therefore, farming will shortly find its level. I must oppose to such an opinion, that the education of a farmer is not to be completed in a day nor in a year; that the appropriation of a very large portion of a man's life is required, to make him an efficient husbandman; and that many years must elapse, before we should again possess, a hardy race of steady and industrious yeomanry. What evils the country must endure in the mean time, we may readily conceive, if we turn our eyes to the accounts which detail the vast importations of corn and grain that have been made since the introduction of the new system.—And again, it appears to me that, the extremely short period for which land is now let, must operate as a great obstacle to improvement: this practice is another offspring of the modern system; and in condemning it, I would not be understood as an advocate for leases of a long duration; or for the indefinite term of one or more lives; which, perhaps, are as injurious as very short ones. Is it, however, rational to suppose that a tenant will be inclined to invest any part of his capital in improvements, when it is uncertain whether he shall be allowed to continue in possession more than 8 or 10 years, a period too short even to reimburse his expenses, much more to reap any benefit from them? No; his whole attention will be directed towards making the most of the land which he occupies, without reference or care as to the state in which it will be at the expiration of his lease;—in plain language he will impoverish it as much as possible, because the deterioration of the land will be profit to him. And in this he will most assuredly succeed, notwithstanding all the numerous restrictive and prohibitive covenants which the ingenuity of a lawyer united to the sapience of an agriculturist may devise. I conceive that it must be admitted on a due consideration of the subject in all its bear-

ings, that this form of leases must prove far more injurious to the national prosperity and welfare of these kingdoms, than the ancient and now (Heaven be praised!) almost exploded custom of requiring the performance of a great number of services;—a custom which has been so ably reprobated and with so much success, that I heartily wish an equal portion of public spirit would display itself again in opposition to the resuscitated, short-sighted avarice which I have arraigned. It has indeed been proposed already by an author (Dr. Smith) as distinguished for accurate statement and practical observation, as for the acuteness and just perception of the true principles of Political Economy which he has displayed in his writings, that an additional tax should be imposed upon all land let upon such conditions in order to discourage the practice; I fear a law to that effect will never be enacted, whilst there shall continue to be so many agriculturists in the House of Commons as at present.—Having asserted in my former communication that the present extravagantly high rent of land originated in and proceeded from the *agricultural mania*, your correspondent has, by way of reply, had recourse to an argument at once fallacious and very superficial. The natural progressive increase in the nominal value of land, is influenced by so many concurring causes, that it would occupy much time to explain the principles on which it arises; and would be altogether unnecessary, as it is to be found amply discussed in various approved publications. Besides, it is foreign to the present inquiry, for my strictures apply not to the uniformly progressive increase in the nominal value of land, but to the extraordinary and unnatural rise which has taken place, since agriculture became a fashionable pursuit. At the present mement, when the press is teeming with dissertations upon the degeneracy of the British yeomanry; when the London caricature shops display to our view, the contrasting appearance of the simple farmer's daughter with a basket of eggs, &c. upon her arm, trudging to market, such as might be universally seen fifty years ago, with the nimini pimini country belle of to-day, dangling her parasol;—when we are continually hearing of the immense and rapid fortunes made and making by farmers; when an uninformed reader recollects all these, he will, no doubt, be surprised to find in the best writings on political economy published anterior to 1780 and even 1786,

observations “on the moderate and inadequate profits of the most useful and most respectable class of productive labourers, the farmers of Great Britain;” and he will be at a loss to account for the striking contradiction, and may, perhaps, be disposed to doubt the accuracy of his author. However paradoxical it may at first view appear, the mystery is easily to be developed, and the cause of this singular revolution made manifest to the most shallow understanding. When our nobility and gentry first turned their attention to agricultural pursuits, and undertook the cultivation of a large quantity of the land themselves, it may readily be conceived how incapable they must have been; to which, I dare say, many of my readers can testify. To obviate this impediment, the most forward, instituted and promoted meetings of the old established farmers and others, for the purpose of gleanings information for them; and thence, they procured men of some practical experience to superintend their new undertakings. They, however, soon discovered and felt, that the portion of their estates retained in their own hands, did not yield a proportionate revenue to the part occupied by their tenantry; that the capital employed scarcely produced a gross profit equal to the common rate of interest; and that, when the charges of management, &c. were defrayed, a considerable loss was evident. To whatever degree their cupidity may have been excited, in the course of the trafficking, trading and huckstering, necessarily connected with farming, they were convinced that they could not derive any benefit from the course which they were then pursuing; they therefore, betook themselves to such expedients, as might tend to influence and enable their tenantry to pay such increased rents, as might compensate them for the losses they had sustained. The first public manœuvre which they played off, having this end in view, was to create funds, by promoting subscriptions from the persons attending the agricultural meetings, which were to be again distributed, in premiums or bounties, to such farmers as excelled in their respective branches of agriculture. This proceeding was, abstractedly, both commendable and likely to be productive of good effects; their subsequent conduct tended only to create the evils which are coming so fast upon us, and those which we are now experiencing. They took care to make such a parade, at the period of adjudication, as might excite the curiosity,

and arrest the attention of land-owners in other parts of the country; and promulgated through the medium of the periodical prints, most exaggerated accounts of improvements, &c. &c. They availed themselves, at the same time, of every opportunity in public and private company, to extol one another's public spirit, and with lying baseness detailed to the credulous and inexperienced, the great advantages to be derived from farming. In this way, they encouraged a great number of the then independent and truly honourable landed interest to take upon themselves the cultivation of a large portion of the land. It was now too that they had so far established in public opinion, the superiority and wonderful excellence of a certain breed of cattle, of a particular breed of sheep, family of swine, &c. as to render it disgraceful to any of these wealthy agriculturists not to possess some of the fashionable stock. Prices, exceeding all bounds, were accordingly given to obtain it, and in a short time the fortunate tenantry of the projectors and some others, found that the more exorbitant their demands, the greater satisfaction they gave, and the more infatuating was the delusion; so that many who only ten years before were scarcely worth the stock on their farms, could now count thousands. But as the *argumentum ad marsupium* is generally the most powerful, and as that would in a short time have removed the deception, another incentive was devised to induce the noviciates to continue agriculturists,—that of honorary rewards. In voting medals and vases inscribed with fulsome adulatory effusions, they excited an ambition equally ridiculous as ill directed, and contributed to feed the vanity of conceited coxcombs; and, as in the progress of time they became initiated in all the projects of the new system, farming for immediate profit was no longer the object. By retaining land to a great extent, much less was left for the real farmers; and when the old leases of 20 and 30 years duration fell in, considerable competition took place; for, besides the addition which the gradual increase of population had made to the established yeomanry, there were many new applicants, tempted to sink great capitals in, what was esteemed, so profitable a speculation. Farms, at the instance of these latter, were consolidated; and in very many cases, three and even four times the old rent was immediately obtained. So far, success had attended their mischievous schemes, and every effort was engaged in maintaining it. A common centre of communication, however, was wanted, and government was at

length prevailed upon to establish the Honourable Board of Agriculture; an institution which under proper and suitable regulations might be of the most essential service to the country, but which has hitherto been conducted upon a plan at least reprehensible. There are, I believe, but few persons who are not now truly convinced that the dearths of 1798 and 1799, were almost entirely artificial, and that they originated in and were caused by, extensive monopolies; *interdum populus recte videt*. We all know how much the notion of scarcity was circulated and strengthened by our modern agriculturists; the Duke of Portland's —famous letter is a specimen of what was done in that way. Even the Parliament Houses were not left unassailed, and their exaggerated and interested statements there, were reiterated with unexampled avaricious zeal throughout every corner of the nation. These atrocious proceedings have only tended to bring us nearer the crisis of the system, and I will venture to say, that they will not again reap a harvest from a similar delusion, however often they may make the attempt to deceive the public. It is curious to observe with what ardour they labour to impress on the public mind, when contending for a general Bill of Inclosure, the fact, that all the arable land in Great Britain scarcely yields a sufficiency of corn for the consumption of the country, even in plentiful years; and yet, they are, in a variety of instances, exerting every effort to diminish the quantity in tillage; because they imagine grass land can afford to pay a higher rent. That they at first derived benefit from the universal desire to farm which they had excited, I am well aware: but I do not suspect that they are now profiting by the change. No, on the contrary; I conceive that they are the greatest losers, and did the mischievous evils resulting from the system affect them only, I should not have taken up the pen on the occasion. I should have contented myself with looking on and noticing the shallow brained eagerness with which they aggravate the calamitous effects arising from their impolitic and injurious interference. An observant mind needs no prompter to point out the connexion which subsists between the modern system of agriculture, and the highly alarming increase in the number of paupers, that has been made within these few years: nor does the land-owner require the assistance of an arithmetician, to shew how much more severely the income tax operates upon land than any other species of property; nor is much argument necessary



to convince him, notwithstanding the apparent augmentation, that the real and intrinsic revenue which he derives from his land, is much less than it was 30 or 40 years ago. The most injurious result of all is, that, in causing an extraordinary rise in the price of articles of home produce, and of general consumption, they have paved the way for the destruction of our commerce: already does the prime cost of the British manufacture, in many instances, notwithstanding the immense advantages which the extensive use of unrivalled machinery affords, exceed that of foreign production; and unless new channels open, we shall be deprived of, or rather lose, our most valuable export trade of home produce. Perfection of execution will not compensate for extraordinary dearness, as has been experienced in more than one branch of our commerce; the greatest demand being for inferior articles, and therefore, competition in price will successfully oppose competition in excellence.—Your correspondent seems to imagine that the residence of the landed interest on their respective demesnes is objected to. I am at a loss to find an expression in the essay which could lead to such a misapprehension. The object of that paper was merely to direct the public attention to an alarming and increasing evil, not to deprecate the observance of what is correctly conceived to be one of the great duties of a landed proprietor. But, in retiring to their estates for a season let it not be for the purpose of entering into machinations and plots like those I have detailed; rather, let them enjoy every rural amusement, every recreation in their power to obtain, that can yield pleasure; and, in particular, relaxation to those who may be engaged in the active performance of the duties which the present momentous crisis peculiarly demands from them. And let those who are not gratified with the chase, the gun, and a variety of other country amusements, occupy themselves in the embellishment of their houses, and in the improvement of their pleasure grounds. To such who possess minds of a superior cast, the sublime pursuit of acquiring a more intimate and a more elevated idea of the excellence and wisdom of the Supreme Power, by studying the sciences, will afford suitable and commendable employment; and a field for their genius to operate in, to the great advantage of themselves, and perhaps, to the essential benefit of their country. At all events, restrain them from proceeding in the course they are now pursuing, lest the land be filled with a herd of idle and profligate stewards and bai-

liffs, instead of an industrious and useful yeomanry. And, before you concede to them a general bill of inclosure of waste lands, so long a subject of their clamour, oblige them to desist from rendering that waste which was the best; for, with all their loudly reiterated cries of improvement, it is well known to efficient farmers, that the ground degraded by their cultivation, yields little more than half the quantity of produce it would in other more capable, and more experienced hands. Whether this be owing to the abusive management of agents, or to their own self-conceited directions and superintendence, certain it is, that the statement is correctly applicable to a majority of cases, and an inquirer will meet with testimony to its truth in almost every husbandman who has had the opportunity of observing the husbandry of these notable agriculturists. That some beneficial circumstances have accompanied the mass of evils which the system has engendered, is fully admitted; and it is most sincerely to be wished that the real improvements in British husbandry were sufficient to indemnify us for the calamities which have resulted from its adoption, and which we shall yet experience in a manifold degree, so long as it shall continue to be tolerated. The good which has been derived from it, has, however, been elicited by men of true public spirit, actuated by motives the most disinterested, and the most laudable; by men, animated by an innate love of agriculture; who have laboured with the ardour of genuine patriotism, and who have persevered, even at the expense of much wealth, and the sacrifice of many years, in their endeavours to improve the general cultivation of the country. To conclude; it may be truly asserted that the *agricultural mania* or *Modern System of Agriculture*, originated in the narrow views of a few interested individuals; that it has been encouraged, promoted, and adopted by almost the whole body of large landed proprietors; that it has given rise to a spirit of traffic incompatible, even in a commercial nation, with true nobility or genuine independence; that it has caused a numerous increase of paupers, by depriving them of the means of an adequately profitable employment of their labour; that it has tended to increase the intrinsic price of food of every kind, and of the raw material for manufacture; that it consequently counteracts the patriotic exertions which have been made, and are making to establish a permanent preference to British manufacturers, by precluding the possibility of a foreign market

being supplied by us, upon such good terms, as those rival countries can, where labour and subsistence are so much less expensive; that, therefore, we are in a fair way of rapidly losing great part of our commerce, as the evil which causes these unfortunate effects still exists; that it has induced an unusual emigration from the counties where it has most obtained, and thereby Great Britain has incurred a great loss of population,—perhaps of the very best and most useful class; and, lastly, that by depriving a most respectable body of yeomanry, (the middling and inferior farmers of Great Britain) of the land which had hitherto maintained them, their families, and their forefathers, and by enhancing to an extraordinary degree the prices of the more common, but most necessary articles of subsistence, it tends to give birth to and promote a spirit of disaffection, carelessness, and indifference among the people, inconsistent with the welfare, and destructive to the strength and prosperity of a nation.—*AGRICULTURISTS, videte etiam atque etiam quid agatis!*—*Norwich, Oct. 23, 1806.*

LOTTERY TAX.

SIR,—The attention of the nation has, in many instances, been directed to the pernicious effects arising out of that method by which a part of the annual supplies are raised by way of Lottery; but as those remarks have been very general as to its effects upon the public purse and morals, and not stating any one circumstance, by which the people might be enabled to form a judgment; it may not be unimportant to state, how the public welfare is affected by this measure, as it appears by the public prints, (for I have no pretensions to any thing that passes in the sable arcana of those who are concerned in this puffing-trade), that the good people of this country may see what they voluntarily pay for raising this part of the supplies, independent of the happiness that many poor and industrious families derive from this measure.—We are informed by the Newspapers, that the Lottery, which is to be drawn in January next, consists of 25,000 tickets, and was sold by government to Cope and Co. at 16l. 14s. per ticket, which will, when paid, produce to government the gross sum of 417,500l.; out of which the prizes are to be paid, amounting to 250,000l. leaving a balance in favour of government, of 167,500l., and this is what on the first view appears to be the profit. But I presume, before this can be called nett revenue, the charges of printing the tickets, the sala-

ries of commissioners, and all the other appendages belonging to this mystic machine, must be deducted out of the sum of 167,500l. Without, then, entering too nicely into the expenses, because, perhaps, if they were minutely examined, it would be found that what was left to pay the real and necessary expenses of government, would be small indeed; I shall therefore take the sum as it stands above, and endeavour to shew how much the public pay to about 30 or 40 individuals for collecting this very small part of our national expenditure.—It will be found that the gross produce of the 25,000 tickets, at 16l. 14s. per ticket, is 417,500l., and the gross produce of them when sold again at the price at which they are now advertised, viz. 19l. 15s. by those who have purchased them of government, will be 493,750l., being 76,250l. more than the contractors gave for them; and this is the sum, that the people pay to about 30 or 40 individuals for puffing the brains out of their heads, and the sum of 243,750l. out of their pockets; and which will be found to be upwards of 45 per cent. for their trouble. Now I believe, that the charge of collection upon all our other taxes, if taken at five per cent., will be found to be a very ample provision; we are then, in the instance now before us, paying an additional 40 per cent. for raising this small part of our supplies.—And for what? Why, because, after the people have been made drunk with the hopes of success, it is quaintly enough called a voluntary tax, 'tis what we pay by choice; a very pretty recommendation, forsooth, while it is accompanied with such snares, traps, and extravagance.—It will be found by a reference to the scheme, that the chance of even getting one's money again in a speculation of this sort, is nearly five to one against the adventurer; but the chance of obtaining any one of the first prizes, and which is the principal inducement to become a purchaser, is twenty-four thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight to one. As to what may be said about the great risk the contractors run of selling the tickets, I am of opinion that nothing like sound argument can be advanced on that head; for whatever risk there may be, the eagerness shown to become purchasers, is in a great measure a sufficient answer to any assertions of that kind: But even if any thing can be advanced to prove that their risk is as great, as the very extravagant profit, they will, in all probability, derive from their speculation, it does not render the measure less prejudicial to the public, nor make it more efficient as a productive tax.—

Indeed, from the very little money that is by this measure brought into the Exchequer, it is, in my opinion, a convincing proof, that something more than a productive revenue, with as little inconvenience to the people as possible, must be in the view of those who support this mode of taxation. In stating the above facts, I have not been actuated by any motive to prejudice the sale of the tickets purchased under the late contract; but to direct the attention of the people to a subject, that is very prejudicial to their real interest in a variety of ways, and that the more speedily it is put an end to, the better for them; when, they may safely rejoice at the destruction of one enemy, out of a very numerous host.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.

London, Nov. 27th, 1806.

X. T.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

SIR;—The angry Catholic, disappointed of his political spoils, has much exhausted himself in unprofitable rage, in the letter which he last addressed you upon this subject (see page 779) and I think I may venture to pronounce that he has in that letter, evinced a disposition, too much chequered with the blemishes of malignant enthusiasm, to afford any advantage, on the score of personal merit, to the cause he so zealously advocates. Candor and moderation, qualities so necessary to be observed in all discussions of a controversial nature, and which so naturally flow from every man on whom the liberal precepts of *unadulterated* Christianity have made any serious impression, seem quite foreign to the notions and sentiments of my opponent, and it cannot therefore excite much surprize, when we find him shrinking from manly contest, and substituting unbecoming scurrility for more honorable means of defence. I believe I shall not find many dissenting from me in the opinion, that the most unequivocal proof of the declining state of an adversary's argumentative powers, is the having recourse to ungentlemanly personality; and with this opinion, I viewed the last production of A. B. as the precursor of victory, and as rather containing the *dissonant mutterings* of a vanquished foe, than the *arguments* of a polemic writer, warmed with his subject, and confident in the justice of his cause. Should my conjecture prove true, and that A. B. does not again obtrude himself upon public notice, it may be some consolation to his literary friends to know, that I am not disposed to treat his memory with insult, but that, on the contrary, I will allow him the indulgence of *Christian-burial*, and am ready, if it be de-

sired, to chaunt a *requiem* over his *departed genius*. As, however, I should feel reluctant, that anything bearing the semblance of an argument in A. B.'s letter should pass unanswered, I have anxiously perused it to discover as far as I am able, whatever assumes so *questionable a shape*, which it, however, must be admitted, occupies a very inconsiderable portion of the letter. I think I may say, without incurring the charge of presumption, that the opposition which has been given to my proposition, "that every state has a right to a national religion, and to point out of what persuasion that national religion shall be composed," has been particularly feeble; and when it is considered, that in aid of the proposition, intrinsically of argument, I quoted a passage conclusive upon the subject from the Political Philosophy of Dr. Paley, which remains entirely unanswered, any further illustration of the position must, I apprehend, be considered superfluous. The perverse spirit, however, of my antagonist, who would fain make us believe that there is a meaning conveyed by Dr. Paley in the passage quoted, far different from that which common-sense can collect, recalls to my memory the observation of the poet, who speaking of our actions in life, says "*nulla est tam facilis res, quin difficilis sit, quam invitus facias.*"

—I must not here omit noticing, as connected with the question of right, a passage in A. B.'s letter, which he intended (as will be seen by reference to page 782) should make a dull impression on his readers: I hope it will do so, though I feel strongly inclined to think that the inference to be drawn from it will be considered of less favorable import to the Catholic cause than the author intended. It will be recollected that it was asserted by me in page 696, "that if society were constituted of a number of persons, with the liberty of admitting other members such society could make a resolution that Catholics should be ineligible; and that *most clearly* no Catholic could have a right to *prevent* such a resolution from being carried into effect;" and A. B.'s answer to this is what I wish to notice, and which is in these words. "I do think on this view of the subject, that *paramount natural law* does *most clearly* authorize the dissident, *not only to complain* of the institutions of such a society, *but does invest him with a right to prevent their being carried into effect*, if it can be done without injury to the public tranquillity." Now I feel, Sir, desirous of *candidly* considering the *evident tendency* of this passage, and

whether the sentiments avowed by it, are compatible with that obedience which every Subject owes to the Laws of his Country. It a paramount natural law can render nugatory such a resolution as I have mentioned, made by a society of five persons, and can justify an opposition to the carrying into effect such a resolution; upon the same principle can this paramount natural law render nugatory a similar resolution entered into by a society constituted of a million of persons, and by necessary consequence of a state itself; and the connection seems so evident, and the reasoning so clear, that I am unable to draw any other conclusion: the substance therefore of this factious proposition is, that what is called the paramount law of nature, gives to the dissatisfied Catholics, the right to prevent, or what in this case is the same thing, to resist the execution of any laws which they may think injurious to their welfare; and with regard to to that insignificant piece of sophistry tagged at the end of this dangerous proposition, namely, "if it can be done without injury to the public tranquillity," it carries with it the air of such gross absurdity, that one's indignation is rather increased than diminished at the introduction of so paltry a subterfuge. Now, Sir, let me ask, what we are to think of the unblushing effrontery of that Catholic, who, having encouraged disobedience to our laws, solicits to become our legislator?—I beg however to be here understood, as not having the least intention of creating any alarm in respect of Catholic turbulence, as in addition to a most sovereign contempt for all pusillanimous alarmists, I feel the confident belief that we are far enough remote from any cause of apprehension from that class of society; and I only feel anxious that like old experienced warriors, we may preserve, not injudiciously surrender, the advantages we enjoy. The only point that now appears in A. B.'s letter deserving of consideration, is his assertion, that the discordant religious opinions which exist between Catholics and Protestants, can occasion no interruption in concerns of a temporal nature. This seems, I confess, to me at present, as it invariably has done, an assertion founded upon no one principle of reason or common sense, and I have no expectation of its ever receiving any rational support; however, A. B. destitute of every argument, moral or philosophical, brings forward in aid of his strange doctrine, those two political phenomena, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke, who after a long union, separated, he says, at length upon a political question.

Now before any thing could be made of this union or separation, and as an indispensable preliminary, it might have been expected, that A. B. would have stated what were the respective religious opinions of those gentlemen; but A. B. who prevaricates upon this point as he does upon every other, affects to be unacquainted with that necessary piece of information; and leaves us to collect it from the following most extraordinary, mystic combination of words,—“That Mr. Fox's religious persuasion differed from that of his colleague, more than Mr. Burke's did from the Catholic religion:” but we have not yet done with this unintelligible jargon; “The genius of Burke's religion,” (says A. B. in another passage,) “was, though in a less degree, the same with that of the Romish. He felt the same profound respect to the sacerdotal character, the same submission to the creeds, and decrees of synods and councils; he considered pomp and ceremony as essential to public worship, and paid no less regard than the Catholic to days, postures, and vestments.” Now, I should feel much satisfaction on being informed, by what logic, the profound classic who penned this passage can demonstrate, that a man is the same with a Catholic though in a less degree; or in other words, how identity and difference are to be made synonymous? Mr. Burke's religion must have been of a strange texture not to have fallen within the limits of any one of the numerous sects which have had existence in this country! But without unnecessarily wasting time, I think it will not be very difficult to see through the flimsy mysteriousness with which A. B. has enveloped the religion of Mr. Burke. It is evident that A. B. felt the great, the almost insuperable desire, of denominating Mr. Burke a Catholic; but in complying with that, his inclination, there occurred to him this dilemma; that if Mr. Burke were a Catholic, it must be conceded, that his patriotic zeal was greater than his religious, when with purgatory before his eyes, he was induced to leap that invidious barrier to Catholic promotion, the Test Act, and to subscribe to the oath against transubstantiation; to avoid this dilemma, has produced that strange, inexplicable medley of words which we have already noticed, and which has had very nearly, if not entirely, the effect of placing Mr. Burke in that most disgusting of all situations, an apostate in his faith. I trust, however, there is yet enough virtue in the world, not to suffer with impunity, every graceless zealot to rake up the ashes of the

dead, and sully the reputation of departed worth, to answer a mere selfish party purpose; and in the few remaining lines I have to write, I shall adhere to *truth*, which will, as far as it relates to Mr. Burke, be the most effectual answer to the injudicious observations of A. B., and prove the most unexceptionable mode of paying, at least in some degree, the homage which is due to Mr. Burke's exalted character. It is certainly true that the difference which at length alienated Mr. Burke from Mr. Fox, was of a political nature; but to the indelible honour of the former be it spoken, that Mr. Fox's partiality for sentiments favourable to the abolition of the Test, was *one of the causes* which produced a separation, to which Mr. Burke inflexibly adhered through the remainder of his life: and when it is considered, that Mr. Burke was a man most feelingly alive to every emotion of friendship and affection, it is scarcely to be imagined in what a *destructive* point of view he must have beheld Catholic Emancipation, and what lamentable consequences he must have foreseen would necessarily pursue the adoption of such a measure. Having thus far, I trust, satisfactorily answered A. B., I shall make one remark upon his conduct; I observe that when he despairs of foiling his adversary in fair combat, he seeks by *artifice* to rob him of his weapons; and he tells us with his usual modesty, that of all *modes* of reasoning, reasoning from analogy is the most fallacious; But this remark is little worthy of notice, as it must be palpable to every man, that an analogy may be so close, that the reasoning to be deduced from it, must approach very nearly to a moral certainty; and I would ask, what is the great advantage to be derived from history, but that by looking into that vast mirror, we may view the occurrences of departed ages, and by comparing the past with the present, anticipate the future. But no wonder the Catholic claimant should wish to create in us a distaste for history; he felt full forcibly what sensations must succeed the *gloomy retrospect*, which wearies the charitable eye while it retraces the *sanguinary* anecdotes of Catholic power, which so frequently disfigure the historic page;—he saw even the flushed cheek of hardened insensibility grow pale, and deprecated the consequence. But let the disappointed A. B. rail against reasoning from analogy as he pleases, only let the guardians of the state remember, *that the records of the world bear testimony, that it is the Protestant, not the Catholic, who tempers justice with mercy.*

"Mercy that smooths the dreadful brow of power,
"And makes dominion light."

W. F. S.

Lincoln's Inn, Nov. 24, 1806.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

SIR,—Several letters respecting Catholic Claims having appeared in your valuable Register, I trust you will permit me to offer a few observations in answer to your correspondent A. B. (p. 779) who has shewn so little moderation and so much zeal in their behalf.—In intruding myself on your notice, I am perfectly convinced, that every thing of this nature should be conducted without the smallest acrimony or personal allusions; but which I was sorry to observe, has shewn itself in the very unkind and some epithets of *flippant, inexperienced, and unworthy*, which A. B. has so *liberally* bestowed on his antagonist W.F.S.—In the discussion of this subject, A. B. has traced it back to the first origin of the reformation in this country, which ended in the establishment of the protestant religion.—It shall be my business, therefore, to follow him over the same ground, and then consider how far the admission of the Catholic Claims would be inimical to that establishment; which is the point in dispute.—In referring back to the reign of Henry VIII, it will be found, that the opposition of interests between the clergy and laity had long prepared the nation for a breach with Rome, aided by the profound ignorance in which they then lived, and which not only gave rise to an easy acquiescence in received opinions, by preventing the possibility of theological altercations, but very clearly accounts for the rapid progress the reformers made during his reign, and the *cheques* (which A. B. has noticed) they afterwards received.—The capacities of men did not enable them to enter into such disquisitions; and therefore as soon as any new opinion was introduced, supported by the smallest authority sufficient to command attention, they instantly wavered between the contending parties, and sacrificed their most sacred principles to present power.—Another and chief cause of the abolition of the papal power in England was the rapacious disposition of Henry, which made him look with a greedy eye, on the immense monastic revenues, whose sequestration would be a fruitful, easy, and well-timed supply to his government;—and though perhaps there never existed a more absolute or despotic Prince, his policy was very visible in submitting the new religious doctrines to private judgement, which pleasing the multitude and giving them an ideal

triumph in religious disputations, (however they might be unqualified for them) and an opportunity of throwing off the restraints which characterised the old religion, gradually induced them with these combined and powerful motives to adopt with zeal the new principles, in opposition to the established religion of their ancestors—I cannot altogether agree with A. B. that the establishment of the protestant religion was entirely owing to the divorce of Henry and Catherine, though it might materially assist (since Anne Boleyn not only used all her endeavours to foment a quarrel with the Pope, as the readiest way to her attaining royal dignity, but Henry himself must have deeply resented the treatment he received from the Court of Rome) but some years previous to that event the public mind had been suitably alienated from the Romish doctrines by the ability and zeal of Luther, who proved himself a formidable opponent to the papal throne; and, by questioning the power of the Pope, proclaiming every new discovery of abuses in the church, and a quick propagation of his rude but vehement productions, soon drew the attention of mankind, and not only gained him innumerable converts in this and every other country in Europe, but induced the Elector of Saxony to favor his doctrine, and the Republic of Zurich to reform her Church after the new model.—When the reformed Church was thus in its infancy, the propriety of enacting laws to secure it from innovation and danger cannot be questioned; it is now to be determined (when it is so completely engrafted in men's minds so closely allied to the constitution as Church and State, that any attack on the one must endanger the other,—when its stability seems so perfectly secure) to consider whether those acts may be repealed with safety; whether the Catholics may be permitted to enjoy (consistent with sound policy) the blessings of unlimited toleration; whether those acts should be repealed which our ancestors considered as the bulwarks of our constitution; or, in other words, whether it would be proper to grant them the extensive privilege to sit and vote in both houses of Parliament and fill the highest offices and most responsible situations, without taking those test oaths of supremacy and allegiance, which every protestant (before he can do either) is obliged to take. Not to occupy too much of your time, I shall reduce the reasons which might be urged against the admission of these claims to a simple question.—In a country where the Church and State are so closely allied as in ours, can any religion be

safely allowed unlimited toleration, when its principles completely militate against both? Certainly not; for I am convinced no one will consider men to be fit subjects for it who can at best give but a dubious security to the state for their behaviour as good citizens; who might fill high situations under government though not responsible to their country for the good management of the public expenditure with which they would be entrusted; * who deny those fundamental principles of morality necessary to the very existence of society, such for instance as bind us to the performance of our engagements or prohibit any external injury to others; and who only wait for power and opportunity to tyrannize over and deprive others of their most sacred liberties."—In this I do not mean to include the whole body, since there are no doubt many who would do honor to the highest stations; but the public safety must not be endangered for the gratification of a few.—I shall conclude this with the following extract from the writings of a good and able man. "May heaven manifest in the event the fallibility of human foresight, and pour down both on Papist and Protestant such a measure of knowledge and charity as shall dispose them to lay aside their mutual prejudices and animosities with whatever is erroneous or corrupt in faith or worship, and unite them in the bonds of truth and peace."—When such is the case A. B. shall find in me as zealous an advocate as I now confess myself their strenuous opponent. I shall then feel happy in extending to the Catholics the blessings of emancipation, but I cannot help considering that the toleration of such a religion, (as it now is) *professedly intolerant*, may become dangerous if not fatal to the constitution both in Church and State.—W. N. *Pentonville, Nov. 20, 1806.*

PUBLIC PAPER.

PRUSSIAN DECLARATION.

Dated from the Head Quarters at Erfurt, Oct. 9, 1806.

His Majesty the King of Prussia having taken up arms for the defence of his people, considers it as necessary to lay before them and the whole of Europe the facts which have rendered it his duty to take this step.—The political state of France has, for 15 years, been the scourge of humanity. That the possession of uncertain power, that many of those, who, since the year 1792, have, in rapid succession, been at the head of France,

* *Christian Politics*, by E. Bates.

should render their authority only the instrument of war, and seek their security only in the misery of the people; cannot excite great wonder. But the establishment of a firm government, not pressed by the same necessity, animated anew the hopes of the friends of peace; Napoleon, invested with sovereign authority, victorious, surrounded by weak states, friendly disposed governments, or conquered and exhausted rivals, had it in his power to choose a better part. Nothing more remained for him to do for the greatness of France; for her happiness, every thing was in his power. It is painful to be obliged to say that the French politics still continued the same; an insatiable ambition was still the ruling character of the French government: arms and treaties were employed to the same purpose. The treaty of Amiens was scarcely concluded when the signal for the first acts of violence followed: two independent states, Holland and Switzerland, were obliged to accept a constitution which changed them into French provinces.—The renewal of the war was the consequence.—In the mean time, peace still continued on the Continent. The German empire had purchased it with immense sacrifices. In the midst of this peace, the French troops made an irruption into the territory of Hanover, which had no relation to the war between France and England; they shut the ports of Germany to the British flag; and, that they might effect this, seized on Cuxhaven, and that possession of a free state still more unconnected with the war than even Hanover itself.—In the midst of this peace, likewise, was it that these troops, a few months afterwards, insulted the German empire in a manner which still more deeply wounded the honour of the nation. The Germans have not avenged the death of the Duke D'Enghien; but the remembrance can never be effaced from their memories.—The treaty of Luneville guaranteed the independence of the Italian republic. In defiance of the most solemn promise, Napoleon placed the iron crown upon his head. Genoa was incorporated with France; Lucca had nearly a similar fate. Only a few months before, the Emperor, on a solemn occasion, an occasion which imposed on him great duties, had declared before his people, and before Europe, that he wished not to extend further the boundaries of his empire. A treaty with Prussia likewise obliged him to provide an indemnification for the King of Sardinia in Italy; instead of fulfilling these engagements he seized on all those territories which could

be appropriated to such indemnification. Portugal wished to preserve her neutrality; she was obliged to purchase with money some moments of deceitful security.—Thus there remained, with the exception of Turkey, which still remembered the attack on Egypt and Syria, no power in Europe which had not been the object of unprovoked attack.—With these acts of violence were combined a system of insult and contempt. A journal, which announced itself as the organ of the government, was chosen as the instrument of undisguised attacks on all crowned heads.—Not one of these general attacks and insults were foreign to Prussia; several were intimately connected with her dearest interest; and besides the wisdom of that system which considers all the states of Europe as members of one and the same family, which calls all to the defence of each, and points out the danger resulting to all from the aggrandisement of one, was by experience sufficiently confirmed.—But it is especially necessary to state what has been the conduct of France towards Prussia, in her immediate relations with that power.—It would be superfluous to enumerate all the good offices rendered to Napoleon by Prussia. Prussia was the first power which acknowledged him. No promises, no threats could shake her neutrality; for during six years, she acted as a friendly neighbour; she esteemed a brave nation which had ever acted generously by her both in peace and war; and she did justice to the genius of her chief. The remembrance of these times is no longer retained by Napoleon. Prussia had suffered the attack on the electorate of Hanover. In this she had continued an act of injustice, therefore was it her first view to remedy it. She offered herself for it instead of England, and the condition that the latter should cede it. It must, however, at least be recollected that thus a boundary was prescribed to France, which she should not pass. Napoleon solemnly engaged not to invade the neutrality of the northern states, nor to offer violence to any of them, and especially not to augment his troops in the electorate. Scarcely had he entered into these engagements, when he broke them. Every one knows by what an act of violence Sir George Rumbold was seized; every one knows how the Hans Towns were forced to make contributions under the name of loans not to their own interest, but entirely as if France had been at war with them. For the first of these injuries, the king was contented with an imperfect satisfaction. Of the second he took no notice, the fears of the maritime

towns preventing him from making complaints. The king made unexampled sacrifices for peace, and the maintenance of this peace was ever the dearest wish of his heart.—The patience of other courts was sooner exhausted than his. War broke out on the continent. The situation of the king, with respect to his duty, was now more difficult than ever. To prevent France from augmenting the troops she had in Hanover, he promised to suffer no attack on that territory. From this moment, the whole burden of the relation between France and Prussia turned on this object, without the latter deriving the least advantage from it; and by an extraordinary chain of circumstances, Prussia, which only wished to act impartially, and remain neutral, appeared to take part against the allied powers. All the advantage arising from this position of Prussia was entirely for France, and the king was daily threatened with collisions as formidable to him as decisively favourable to the plans of Napoleon.—Who could have supposed that precisely the moment in which the king gave the French government the strongest proofs of his firmness, and a rare example of the faithful fulfilment of engagements into which he had once entered, should be chosen by Napoleon to inflict on Prussia the most sensible injury? Who does not recollect the violation of the Anspach territory, upon the 3d of October of the preceding year, notwithstanding the express remonstrance of the civil government and his majesty's minister.—The contest between that moderation which pardons every thing; that integrity which remains true to its engagement to the last, on the one part; and the abuse of power, the insolence inspired by deceitful fortune, and the habit of only reckoning on fortune, continued several years.—The king declared to the French government that he considered all his connexions with it as dissolved. He placed his armies on a footing suitable to circumstances. He was now fully convinced that no pledge of security remained for the neighbours of France but a peace, established on solid principles, and guaranteed by all the powers in common.—His majesty offered the allies to be the mediator in negotiations for such a peace, and to support them with all his force.—It is sufficient to know the conditions then proposed to be convinced of the moderation which at all times has governed the politics of his majesty in their whole extent. Prussia at this moment listened not to the voice of revenge; she passed over the events of the late war, however violent they

might have been, since they had been sanctioned by existing treaties. He required nothing but the punctual fulfilment of those treaties; but this he required without limitation. Count Haugwitz repaired to Vienna; where the French Emperor then was.—Scarcely had this minister been there some days, when the whole face of affairs was changed. The misfortunes experienced by the court of Vienna, had compelled it to sign an armistice, which was immediately followed by a peace. The Emperor of Russia sacrificed his magnanimous views to the wish of his ally, and his troops returned home; Prussia stood now alone on the field of contest, he was obliged to limit his policy by his powers, and instead, as had been his wish, of embracing the interest of all Europe, make his own security and that of his neighbours his first object.—The French Emperor proposed to Count Haugwitz a treaty, in which was stipulated on the one side a mutual guarantee of possessions, the inviolability of the Turkish territory, and the results of the treaty of Presburgh; and, on the other, the taking possession of Hanover by Prussia, in return for the cession of three provinces.—The first part of this treaty promised at least for the future an acknowledged guarantee, and, if Napoleon had so pleased, a firm political constitution. The results of the peace of Presburgh were a general misfortune for Europe, but Prussia sacrificed herself alone when she accepted of such terms; but to place a limit to the incessant usurpations of France, should the treaty be considered by the court of St. Cloud, as any thing more than words appeared an advantage; the king, therefore, ratified this article conditionally.—The second half of the treaty of Vienna, relative to an object, the importance of which had been manifested by serious experience, Prussia could not rely on security for a moment, so long as Hanover remained involved in a war, in which that country had, in fact, no concern. At whatever price it might be purchased, Prussia was resolved that the French should not return thither. She had her choice to obtain this end either by a treaty or a war.—The cession of three provinces, which had been faithful and happy for a long series of years, was a sacrifice not to be made for any plan of vain ambition; but these provinces, in case of war, would have been the first sufferers. All the calamities of that war would have fallen on the monarchy; while the acquisition of Hanover, could it have been made under less unhappy circumstances, would have been productive of the most

valuable advantages to Prussia. The king, therefore, conceived that he reconciled his wishes with his principles when he accepted the proposed exchange only under the condition, the fulfilment of the same should be deferred till a general peace, and that the consent of his Majesty the King of Great Britain should be obtained.—All the advantages of this treaty were for France. On one side she received guarantees which put the seal on her conquests; on the other, she gave what she did not possess, what might be again conquered by the chances of uncertain war, while in the cessions of Prussia she found the means of enriching her allies.—But between a policy which will do every thing in its power, and an integrity which regards its duties and especially its promises, the contest is ever unequal.—The king approached the moment when he was convinced of this by experience. This moment was the most painful of his reign.—It was the affair of France to reject the modifications under which the king had confirmed the treaty, if she did not approve them; but she avoided doing this, for the whole Prussian army was still under arms; she continued to be lavish of assurances of friendship; she fulfilled the treaty as far as it suited her; but when his majesty wished to reap the only advantage which he had proposed to himself from the late negotiations, and which lay nearest his heart, she suddenly altered her language. The modifications added to the treaty of Vienna, were now rejected at Paris; endeavours were made to force Prussia into the most injurious measures, and when count Haugwitz, who was at Paris, remonstrated against this, the unconditional fulfilment of the treaty was haughtily insisted on, as were the immediate cession of the three provinces, and the recal of the patent by which the occupation of Hanover was declared provisional. Prussia was required to resign a part of the advantages stipulated, and to shut the ports against the British flag, in the same manner as if the French had returned into the Electorate.—The king at length was perfectly convinced of the true character of the friendship of the Emperor of the French; a soporific draught for a power which still feels its own strength; an instrument of degradation; and finally of subjugation, to every power which no longer possesses strength.—In the mean time Napoleon was in possession of every advantage. The Russian army had returned; his own, after some movements of no consequence, at which deluded Germany rejoiced, on some frivolous pretences, established itself on

this side the Rhine. The first conflict might produce misfortunes. War, which is not, under all circumstances, the greatest of evils, might become such under those then existing. The king determined to continue the part he had hitherto acted, for some time longer. Wishing to preserve his force, now more than ever necessary to Europe, and at least to secure the tranquillity of the North, he confirmed the new treaty. Confidence, however, was now utterly lost. Prussia was convinced that, on the first opportunity to weaken her, without danger she might expect an attack from her pretended ally; convinced that there is a degree of ambition which nothing can satisfy; which proceeds without intermission from usurpation to usurpation; sometimes without a plan, but ever intent on destruction, careless of the choice of means, and employing alike arms and the pen, violence and oaths. But even with this conviction, so great is the unfortunate superiority obtained by such policy over those who wish only to be just; the king fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty, with the punctuality of a faithful ally. It is known what the consequences were with respect to the connexions of his Majesty with England. France gained nothing by this, but she triumphed in secret at the thought of having disunited two courts, the union of which might have been dangerous to her; and what in the view of France gave the principal value to her alliance with the king was, that this alliance isolated his majesty, since it produced an opinion that Prussia was a participator in the cause of so many misfortunes.—But not content with this, we shall soon see in what manner the politics of France, assured that she now had no enemy to fear, believing that she had annihilated Austria, forming a judgment of Russia with equal ignorance and rashness, and blinded by the apparent tranquillity of Prussia, at length threw off the mask, and despising forms, which she had hitherto sometimes respected, openly trampled on all treaties and all rights. Three months after the signing of the treaty with Prussia all its articles were violated.—The treaty had for its basis the *status quo* of the moment in which it was concluded; also the guarantee of the German empire and its states, according to the constitution then established. This truth arises not only from the nature of things; the treaty had also expressly prescribed to the two powers their duties. The relations in which the peace of Presburgh had left his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, were guaranteed to him, consequently also the imperial crown of Germany

and the rights connected with it. The existence of Bavaria, and consequently the relations which had connected it for so many centuries to the empire, were likewise confirmed by the same common guarantee. Three months after the confederation of the Rhine overthrew the Germanic constitution, deprived the Emperor of the ancient ornament of his house, and placed Bavaria and thirty other princes under the tutelage of France.—But is it necessary to appeal to treaties to form a just judgment of this extraordinary event? Previous to all treaties nations have their rights; and had not France asserted, with the sanctity of an oath, this act of unexampled despotism would exasperate every mind. To deprive princes who had never offended France, and to render them the vassals of others, themselves the vassals of the French government; to abolish, with the stroke of a pen, a constitution of a thousand years duration, which long habit, the remembrance of so many illustrious periods, and so many various and mutual relations, had rendered dear to such a number of princes: which had so often been guaranteed by all the European powers, and even by France herself; to lay contributions on the cities and towns in the midst of profound peace, and leave the new possessions only an exhausted skeleton; to abolish this constitution without consulting the Emperor of Germany, from whom a crown was wrested, or Russia, so lately become the guarantee of the German league, or Prussia, intimately interested in that league, thus arbitrarily dissolved. No; wars and continued victories have sometimes produced great and remarkable catastrophes; but such an example in time of peace was never before given to the world.—The king commiserated the unfortunate princes who suffered by these transactions, but he pitied not less those who had suffered themselves to be lured by the hope of gain, and he would reproach himself should he increase their unhappiness by judging them with too great severity. Deluded by the reward of their compliance, probably forced to obey commands which admitted of no opposition, or if surprised into consent, sufficiently punished by their acquisitions, and by being reduced to a state of vassalage, as harsh and degrading, as their former relations were honourable, they deserve not to be treated by Germany with the utmost rigour. Perhaps when the magnanimous nation to which they formerly belonged, arises around them on every side to contend for their independence, they might listen to the voice of gratitude

and honour, and at least abhor their chains when they find they must be stained with the blood of their brethren.—It was not enough that these despotic acts were immediately injurious to Prussia; the Emperor of France was intent on tendering them sensible to the person of the king in all his allied states. The existence of the Prince of Orange was under the common guarantee of the two powers; for the king had acknowledged the political changes in Holland only under this condition. For several years this prince had expected that his claims, secured by the mutual stipulations of Prussia and France, should be satisfied. The Bavarian republic had been willing to enter into an accommodation, but the Emperor Napoleon forbade it. Neither the recollection of this circumstance, nor the consideration of the ties of blood which united his majesty to the prince; nor the declaration, twenty times repeated, that the king could not desert the rights of his brother-in-law, could prevent his being added to the heap of victims. He was the first who was deprived of his paternal property. Eight days before, he had received from the Emperor a letter condoling with him, in the customary forms, on the death of his father, and wishing him joy on his undisturbed succession to the states of his house. None of these circumstances are unimportant: each throws a light on the whole.—Cleve had been allotted to Prince Murat. Scarcely become a sovereign he wished likewise to be a conqueror; his troops took possession of the Abbey of Essen, Werden, and Eten, under the pretext that they appertained to the Duchy of Cleve, though they were entirely territories newly acquired, and there was not the shadow of a connexion between them and the ceded provinces. Great labour was employed in vain to give even a colour to this outrage.—Wesel was to belong to the new duke, not to the Emperor Napoleon: the king had never resolved to give up the last fortress on the Rhine into the power of France. Without a word by way of explanation, Wesel was annexed to a French department.—The existing state of the Austrian monarchy, and of the Porte, had been mutually guaranteed. The Emperor Napoleon certainly wished that Prussia should be bound by this guarantee, for in his hands it was an instrument which he might employ as suited his politics; a pretext for demanding sacrifices, in a contest which his ambition might occasion. He himself, however, did not observe it longer than it contributed to his interest. Ragusa, though under the protection of the

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Porte, was taken possession of by his troops. Gradisla and Aquileia were wrested from Austria, under nearly the same pretexts which had been employed when the French seized the three Abbeys.—In all political proceedings, it was naturally taken for granted that the new states formed by France were states in the proper sense of the term, and not French provinces; but it cost the cabinet of St. Cloud only a word to deprive them of their independence. The appellation, "The Great Empire," was invented, and that empire was immediately only surrounded with vassals.—Thus there was no trace of the treaty left, yet Prussia proceeded to shut her ports against England; and still considered herself as having obligations to fulfil.—The emperor at length informed his majesty that it was his pleasure to dissolve the German empire, and form a confederation of the Rhine, and he recommended to the king to establish a similar confederation in the North of Germany. This was according to his customary policy, a policy which had long been crowned with success; at the moment of the birth of any new object to throw out a lure to those courts, which might occasion difficulties in the execution of such project. The king adopted the idea of such a confederation; not that the advice he received made the least impression on him, but because, in fact, it was rendered necessary by circumstances, and because, after the secession of the princes, who had acceded to the confederation of the Rhine, a close union between those of the north, became more than ever the condition of their safety. The king took measures to establish this league, but on other principles from those of the model presented to him. He made it his pride to collect the last of the Germans under his banners; but the rights of each he left unimpaired, and honour alone was the bond of the league.—But could France advise the king to any measure which should be productive of advantage to Prussia?—We shall soon see what is to be expected, when France makes professions of favour.—In the first place care had been taken to introduce into the fundamental statute of the confederation of the Rhine, an article which contained the germ of all future innovations. It provided, that other princes should be received into this confederation, should they desire it. In this manner, all relations in Germany were left indeterminate, and as the means were still reserved to detach and annex to this league the weaker states, either by promise or threats, it was but too probable, that in time this

confederation would be extended into the heart of the Prussian monarchy.—And that this might no longer remain doubtful, but be manifest to every one, the first attempt was immediately made. Fortunately it was made on a prince who knows not fear, and who considers independence as the highest object of his ambition. The French minister at Cassel invited the elector to throw himself into the arms of his master. Prussia, it was alleged, did nothing for her allies! It is true Napoleon knows how to manage his better, and every one sees that Spain and Holland, the Kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, have to thank their alliance with him for peace, independence, and honour. Prussia did nothing for her allies. Napoleon, on the contrary, would reward the accession of the elector by an enlargement of his territory.—And this was exercised towards an ally, and at the very moment when the king was advised to form an alliance, of which Hesse was to be the first bulwark; endeavours were made to detach from him a prince whom family connexions, alliances, and relations of every kind, united in the closest manner to his majesty's person.—But even these hostile steps were not sufficient. Does any one wish to know what was the line by which it was hoped to gain the Elector of Hesse, and what was the augmentation of territory, with the expectation of which he was flattered? It was the Prince of Orange, the brother-in-law of the king, that prince who had been twice deceived in the most shameless manner, who was now to be robbed the third time. He still possessed the territory of Fulda. This was promised to the elector, and it would have been given, had the elector consented to accept it, and had not Prussia taken up arms.—His majesty saw the system of usurpation advance every day. He saw a circle, continually becoming much narrower, drawn round him, and even the right of moving within it, beginning to be disputed with him; for a sweeping resolution forbade a passage to any foreign troops, armed or not armed, through the gates of the confederation. This was to cut off, contrary to the rights of nations, the connection between the detached Hessian provinces. This was to prepare a pretext on which to act. This was the first threat of punishment aimed at a magnanimous prince who had preferred a defender to a master.—But even after this—his majesty cannot reflect on it without admiration—the king considered whether a combination might not be found which should render this state of things compatible

with the maintenance of peace.—The emperor Napoleon appeared to be solicitous to remove this doubt. Two negotiations were then carrying on at Paris, one with Russia, the other with the English ministry. In both these negotiations the intentions of France against Prussia were evidently manifested.—By the treaty which the emperor of Russia has refused to ratify, France offered, in conjunction with Russia, to prevent Prussia from depriving the king of Sweden or his German territories.—Yet for many months the cabinet of St. Cloud had continually pressed the king to seize those states, with the threefold view—first, to revenge himself on the king of Sweden; secondly, to embroil Prussia with all other powers; and thirdly, to purchase her silence with respect to the subversion of Southern Germany. But the king had long been aware that such were the views of France, and his unfortunate dispute with Sweden was painful to him. He had therefore been careful to provide against every suspicion of self-interested motives, and he confided his explanations to the emperor Alexander. The scene now again changed, and Napoleon, who had so long been the enemy of the king of Sweden, was suddenly transformed into his protector. It is not superfluous to remark that, in this insidious treaty of the French Emperor, in order to satisfy the honourable interest which the court of St. Petersburg took in the maintenance of the rights of the King of Naples, he promised the latter an indemnification, engaging to prevail on the King of Spain to cede to him the Balearic islands. He will act in the same manner with respect to the augmentations of territory he pretends to bestow on his allies. *To be continued.*

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Twenty-first Bulletin of the Grand French Army. Concluded from p. 896.*

On the 28th, at nine in the forenoon, the Envoys of Bavaria, Spain, Portugal, and the Ottoman Porte, resident at Berlin, were admitted to an audience of His Majesty. His Majesty ordered the Turkish Envoy to send a courier to Constantinople to inform his Court of what had taken place, and to declare that now the Russians should not enter Moldavia, nor undertake any thing against the Turkish Empire.—Afterwards His Majesty received the whole of the Lutheran and Reformed Consistories. There are upwards of twelve thousand French at Berlin, whose predecessors took refuge here, in consequence of the revocation of

the Edict of Nantes. His Majesty conversed with the principal persons among these Protestants, and told them that they had a just claim upon his protection, and that their privileges and the exercise of their worship should be secured to them. His Majesty advised them to concern themselves with their own affairs, to remain peaceable, and pay obedience and respect to the sovereign.—The Courts of Justice were presented. His Majesty conversed with the Members of the Courts of Appeal, and gave them some instruction as to the manner in which justice should be administered.—Count Van Neale coming into the Hall of Audience, the Emperor said to him, "Well, Sir, your ladies wished for war, and they have been gratified; it becomes you to manage your household better." (Letters had been intercepted from the Count's daughter). "Napoleon (reading these letters) will not continue the war; let others carry on the war against him." His Majesty said to Count Van Neale, "No: I will carry on no war. Not that I doubt of my prowess, as you have suggested; but in order to spare the blood of my subjects, which is dear to me; and because it is prescribed to me by my first duty, only to shed the same for their honour and safety. But the good people of Berlin have been the sacrifice of the war; while those who excited it have left them and are become fugitives. I shall reduce those noble courtiers to such extremities that they shall be compelled to beg their bread. The Emperor ordered that twenty-four the best Burghers should be assembled in the Town-house, in order to select a third of their number to take upon them the civil government of the place. Each of the twenty wards is to furnish a guard of 60 men; so that 1200 of the best Burghers will be entrusted with the care of the city and the management of the police.—The Emperor said to Prince Hatzfeldt, 'Do not appear in my presence; I have no need of your vices: retire to your estates.'—The Emperor gave audience to the chancellor and the ministers of the King of Prussia.—In giving instructions to the civil administration of the city, the Emperor said, 'I will not suffer any windows to be broken. My brother the King of Prussia ceased to be a king, from the day when Prince Louis Ferdinand was bold enough to break the windows of his Majesty's ministers. His Majesty should have ordered him to be hanged.'—This day, the 38th, his Majesty mounted his horse to review Marshal Davoust's corps. To-morrow that under Marshal Augereau will pass in review before him.—The Grand

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Duke of Berg, Marshal Lannes, and the Prince of Ponte Corvo, are pursuing Prince Hohenlohe. After the gallant affair with the cavalry at Zehdenick, the Grand Duke of Berg advanced to Templin, where he found a great quantity of provisions, and the dinners for the Prussian generals and their troops ready dressed. — At Gransee, Prince Hohenlohe changed his route, and took the road to Furstenberg. It is probable, that, being cut off from the Oder, he will be surrounded and made prisoner. — The Duke of Weimar is in a similar situation with respect to Marshal Soult. The Duke seemed to wish to cross the Elbe at Tangermunde, in order to approach the Oder. On the 25th, Marshal Soult anticipated him. If we come up with him, not a man will escape: if he succeeds in crossing the Oder, he will fall into the hands of the Grand Duke of Berg, Marshal Lannes, and the Prince of Ponte Corvo. A part of our troops are upon the Oder. The King of Prussia has passed the Vistula. — Count Zastrow was presented to the Emperor on the 27th, at Charlottenburg, and delivered a letter from the King of Prussia. — At this moment an aide-de-camp from Prince Eugene has announced a victory obtained over the Russians in Albania.

Twenty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Oct. 29. — Events succeed each other with rapidity. The Grand Duke of Berg arrived, on the 27th, at Hasleben, with a division of dragoons. He had sent to Boitzenburg General Milhaud, with the 13th regiment of light horse, and the brigade of light cavalry under General Lasalle, to Prentzlow. Informed that the enemy was in force at Boitzenburg, he struck off Wignunsdorff. He had scarcely arrived there when he perceived that a brigade of the enemy's cavalry had struck to the left, with the intention of cutting off General Milhaud. To see, charge, and drive the king's gens-d'armes into the lake, was the affair of a moment. This regiment, seeing that all was over with it, asked to capitulate. The prince, at all times generous, granted their wish. Five hundred men alighted and delivered up their horses. The officers returned home on their parole. Four stand of colours belonging to the guards, all of gold, were the trophies of the petty engagements of Wignunsdorff, which was only the prelude to the splendid one of Prentzlow. — These celebrated gens-d'armes, who experienced such great commiseration after their defeat, were the same who, for three months

excited riots in the city of Berlin, by every sort of provocation. They went under the windows of M. Laforet, the French minister to whet their sabres: sensible people shrugged up their shoulders; but the inexperienced youth, and passionate women, like the Queen, saw in this ridiculous swaggering, a sure prognostic of the grand destinies which await the Prussian army. — Prince Hohenlohe, with the wrecks of the battle of Jena, attempted to reach Stettin. He had been obliged to change his route, because the Grand Duke of Berg was at Templin before him. He wished to open out from Boitzenburg to Hasleben, but he was deceived in his movement. The Grand Duke of Berg imagined that the enemy would endeavour to reach Prentzlow; the conjecture was well founded. The Prince marched all night with the division of dragoons under Generals Beaumont and Grouchy, which was preceded by the light cavalry under the command of General Lasalle. The first posts of our hussars arrived at Prentzlow at the same time as the enemy, but were under the necessity of falling back, on the 20th in the morning, before the superior force under Prince Hohenlohe. At nine the Grand Duke of Berg arrived at Prentzlow, and at ten saw the enemy's army in full march. Without losing time in vain motions, the Prince ordered General Lasalle to charge in the suburbs of Prentzlow, and sent to support him Generals Grouchy and Beaumont, with their six pieces of light artillery. He gave orders for three regiments of dragoons to cross over the small river at Golnitz, which leads to Prentzlow, to attack the enemy's flank, and gave directions to his other brigade of dragoons to turn the town. Our brave cannoneers on horseback placed their pieces so well, and fired with such assurance, that they rendered uncertain the enemy's motions. At this moment General Grouchy received orders to charge, and his brave dragoons did so with the greatest intrepidity. — Cavalry, infantry, artillery, all were overthrown in the suburbs of Prentzlow. Our troops might have entered the town pell-mell with the enemy, but the Prince preferred sending him a summons by General Bellard. The gates of the town were already burst open. Deprived of all hope, Prince Hohenlohe, one of the principal firebrands of this impious war, capitulated, and defiled before the French army with 16,000 infantry, almost all guards or grenadiers, six regiments of cavalry, 45 stands of colours, and 64 pieces of horse and artillery. All the King of Prussia's guards who had escaped

from the battle of Jena, have fallen into our power. We are in possession of all the stands of colours of the king's horse and foot guards. Prince Hohenlohe, Commander-in-Chief, after the wound of the Duke of Brunswick, a Prince of Mecklenburgh, Schwerin, and several generals, are our prisoners.—“But nothing is done, whilst there remains any thing to be done,” wrote the Emperor to the Grand Duke of Berg. “You have outstripped a column of 8,000 men commanded by Gen. Blucher; let me soon learn that they have experienced the same lot.”—Another of 10,000 men has passed the Elbe, commanded by the Duke of Weimar. According to all appearance, both he and his whole column will be surrounded.—Prince Augustus Ferdinand, brother to Prince Louis, killed at Saalfeldt, and son of Prince Ferdinand, brother of the Great Frederick, has been taken in arms by our dragoons.—Thus this grand and fine Prussian army has disappeared like an autumnal fog at run-rise. Generals commanding the separate corps of the army, Princes, infantry, cavalry, artillery none remain. Our posts have entered Frankfurt on the Oder, the King of Prussia has gone further. He has not 15,000 men left; and for such a result we have scarcely met with any loss.—General Clarke, Governor of Erfurth, has made a Saxon battalion capitulate, which was wandering without direction. On the 28th, the Emperor reviewed the corps of Marshal Davoust, under the walls of Berlin. He filled up the vacancies, and rewarded the brave. He then assembled the officers and petty officers in a circle, and thus addressed them:

“Officers and petty officers of the 3d corps of the army, you covered yourselves with glory at the battle of Jena: I shall preserve the eternal recollection of it. The brave fellows who were killed, died with glory. We ought to wish to die under such glorious circumstances.”—In reviewing the 12th and 85th regiments of the line, who felt the greatest loss in this battle, as it fell on them to make the greatest efforts, the Emperor was affected at seeing killed, or grievously wounded, several of his old soldiers, whose devotion and bravery he was acquainted with for fourteen years past. The 12th regiment, above all, has shown an intrepidity worthy of the highest praise.—Today, at twelve o'clock, the Emperor reviewed the seventh corps, commanded by Mar-

shal Augereau. This corps has suffered very little. One half of the soldiers have not had an occasion to fire a shot, but they all had the same intrepidity. The appearance of this corps was magnificent. “Your corps alone,” said the Emperor, “is stronger than all that remains to the King of Prussia, and you do not form the tenth part of my army.” All the unmounted dragoons whom the Emperor had caused to come to the grand army, are now mounted; and there are, at the grand depôt at Spandau, 4000 horses saddled and bridled, which we do not know what to do with, because there are no horsemen in want of any. We wait with impatience for the arrival of the depôts.—Prince Augustus was presented to the Emperor at the Palace of Berlin, after the review of the seventh corps of the army. The prince was sent home to his father's, to rest himself, and get his wounds dressed.—Yesterday, before going to review the corps of Marshal Davoust, the Emperor paid a visit to the Dowager Princess Henry, and Prince and Princess Ferdinand, who have always been remarked for the distinguished manner in which they have received the French.—In the palace which the Emperor inhabits at Berlin, lodges the King of Prussia's sister, the Electoral Princess of Hesse-Cassel. This Princess is in childbed. The Emperor has ordered his Grand Marshal of the Palace to take care she be not disturbed with the noise and bustle of the head-quarters.—The last Bulletin relates the manner in which the Emperor received the Prince of Hatzfeld at his audience. A few moments after the Prince was arrested. He would have been sent before a military commission, and inevitably condemned to death. Some letters from this Prince to Prince Hohenlohe, intercepted at the advanced posts, had given information, that, although he said he was charged with the civil government of the town, he informed the enemy of the movements of the French. His wife, the daughter of the Minister Schulenburg, came to throw herself at the feet of the Emperor; she thought her husband was arrested on account of the hatred which the Minister Schulenburg bore to France. The Emperor soon undeceived her, and made known to her that papers had been intercepted which proved that her husband was acting a double part, and had committed a great crime.

To be continued.